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VOL. XVI NO. 38.

## "TIGHT MONEY"

### THE MAJESTIC SUPPLY OF INCAPACITY, AND SOME OTHERS.

Contemporaneous Events In The World of Capitalism That Elicit Socialist Satire And Criticism, And From Whence Lessons The Workers Profit.

MONEY being "tight" in Wall Street, the Federal Reserve of the Treasury is to "anticipate interest" on all government bonds up to May, 1907. This will put \$15,000,000 in cash in the hands of the "needy" capitalists before they are entitled to it, and amount to paying them a larger interest than the bonds call for. Imagine WAGES being "tight" and the working class demanding an "anticipation of wages." The howl of "Anarchism," "Laziness," "Confiscation of Property," "Paternalism," that the capitalist press, professors and pulpits would raise, would simply deluge the land. Yet we have "Equality of opportunities" a "Government of the whole people," and "No classes!"

Drawing upon the majestic supply of incapacity which is the characteristic of official capitalist professorships, President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell University is of the opinion that "Socialism is impracticable," but that "practicable" is "the fixing of the prices of the necessities of life" by law. The sapient Schurman carefully avoids explaining how Government is to "fix prices" low enough to suit "the public" and yet high enough to suit the requirements of small capitalists, who, producing upon small scales, can not produce as cheaply as large capitalists.

Among the things that Mrs. Forberg's affidavit throws light upon is the reason for the "autonomous" act of John M. O'Neill, the Editor of the Miners Magazine, in endorsing the Socialist party of Pennsylvania, despite the resolution of the Western Federation of Miners to endorse no political party. Mrs. Forberg's affidavit—making public the information given her by Sherman to the effect that he, Victor Berger, Kirwan and O'Neill had agreed to convert the I. W. W. at its next convention into a pure and simple Union—makes O'Neill's action luminous. Sufficiently scatterbrained to believe such a plot executable, Mrs. O'Neill started in to carry out the plot even before the convention met. Pure and simple Unionism reflects pure and simple politics. Hence endorsement by O'Neill of the pure and simple political Socialist candidates of Pennsylvania.

The Southern Immigration and Industrial Association adopted through its Executive Committee at Nashville a resolution to the effect that "it shall be one of the duties of the association to refute slanderous reports calculated to impede the progress of the South." This is a round about way of admitting that the "Chivalrous South" is bumping its nose against the consequences of the "chivalry" of chain-gang horrors, lynching bees of Negro and Italian workmen, shotgun methods of "preserving the purity of the ballot-box," etc.; that it is finding out such "chivalrous" methods are not conducive to attracting immigrants; and, above all, that the Chivalrous South does not propose to mend its ways, on the contrary, that to its "chivalry," it proposes to add the lie of calling facts "slanders."

"Organized labor," said Delegate Furuseth at the A. F. of L. convention, "should try to defeat somebody, and not elect somebody." Furuseth is a type of the "pure and simple craft Unionist." His utterance is also typical. Negation, not positiveness is the badge of infant weakness in Movements. Craft Unionism is purely negative, not constructive. Furuseth's maxim proves it. Not the "Everlasting Nay," but the "Everlasting Aye" is the lodestar of the Labor Movement. The program of full-grown Unionism is not to thwart something, but to raise something else—not to cross individual capitalists, but to overthrow capitalism and rear the Socialist Republic.

Victor Berger of Milwaukee is belly-aching on the ground of "so many energetic Socialists having joined the I. W. W. that the fighting forces of the Social-

# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## DEMOGOGUE AND PLUTOGOGUE.

President Roosevelt, the High-Priest of Capitalist morality in the land, rose, so to speak, in the high canonical robes of his office before the people of the land; and, in the course of his this year's annual homiletics on the 4th of this month, uttered himself as follows against the "demagogue":

"To preach hatred of the rich man as such, to carry on a campaign of slander and invective against him, to seek to mislead and inflame to madness honest men whose lives are hard and who have not the kind of mental training which will permit them to appreciate the danger in the doctrines preached—all this is to commit a crime against the body politic and to be false to every worthy principle and tradition of American national life."

Fate so willed it that the deep-hypocrisy of the class for which the Presidential pluto-gogue spoke should be illustrated on the identical day when the above lecture was read. On that very day, the Supreme Court of the United States having decided against the habeas corpus proceedings instituted by Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, the capitalist press announced the fact in language best typified by the headlines of the New York "Sun"—"Fair Trial for Assassins; Steunenberg Murderers Have Only the Law to Fear!"

It may be so, and it may not be so that spokesmen for the Labor Movement of the land "preach hatred of the rich man as such." One thing, however, is certain—the Labor Movement is the result of the Capitalist System. Were there no Capitalist Class there would be no Labor Agitators. The latter are the legitimate offspring of the former. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are charged with murder. The "worthy principle and tradition of American national life" requires that the accused be held innocent until proven guilty. This "principle and tradition" holds even when the accused is caught red-handed. In the case of the Idaho prisoners the only evidence upon which they were arrested is the evidence of a self-confessed murderer. When the Ment Packers' atrocities were unveiled, how careful was not the capitalist, how solicitous of the civic rights of the exposed criminals. The language then was: "Even Government officials may err"; "the charges may be false"; "let's keep a cool, judicial mind." But now, when not simple cash fines, but the LIVES of men are at stake; now when the "witness" is not a "Government official," one presumably trustworthy, but a self-confessed felon, a being presumably untrustworthy;—now, all "principle and tradition" notwithstanding, the evidence of the felon is taken in advance for gospel truth, the prisoners are labeled with the

title of "Assassins," and insult is added by the ribald jeer that "the murderers have only the law to fear!" Nothing happens by accident. It is no accident that capitalist "professions" and capitalist "practice" were so glaringly contrasted on the identical day. It may be that there are labor agitators, or demagogues, who "preach hatred of the rich man as such"; but if such agitators there be, they are the legitimate offspring of the capitalist agitators, or plutocrats, who "preach hatred of the wage slave as such"; it may be there are labor agitators, or demagogues, who "carry on a campaign of slander and invective against the rich man, to seek to mislead and inflame to madness" people who have no time to think; but, if such agitators there be, they are the legitimate offspring of the capitalist agitators, or plutocrats, in and out of office, who "carry on a campaign of slander and invective against the workingman, to seek to mislead and inflame to madness" the unthinking against the worker.

The PLUTOGOGUE breeds the DEMOGOGUE. Granting the worst against the demagogue, by all rules of Ethics and of Sense he who begets him is the worse pest; and, being cause, the DEMOGOGUE but effect, it is the PLUTOGOGUE that commonsense and morality must first combine to exterminate—AND WILL.

## JOHN J. KINNEALLY

WELL KNOWN AND HONORED MEMBER AND OFFICER OF SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY LOSES HIS LIFE WHILE PRODUCING PROFITS FOR THE MASTER CLASS—DROWNED WHILE AT WORK IN HARLEM FREIGHT YARDS—BRUTAL CONDUCT OF COMPANY TOWARDS ITS FAITHFUL SLAVE—KINNEALLY'S ACTIVITY IN THE MOVEMENT MANIFOLD, AND HIS RECORD A CLEAN ONE.

John J. Kinneally, of 757 East 138th street, a tried and honored member of the Socialist Labor Party and of the Industrial Workers of the World, died under the iron hand of Capitalism last Sunday afternoon, being drowned in the icy waters of the Harlem River, at Oak Point float-station, where he was working.

Kinneally was employed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad in the capacity of freight-car checker, in its Harlem yards. In the course of his work yesterday, Kinneally was standing on a transfer float loaded with freight cars, about 3 p. m., checking them up, when the tug which was to take the float down the river came alongside to tie on. The jar threw Kinneally off the ice-covered float, and the swift current running at this point immediately carried him out of reach. Kinneally was not able to swim, and before the tug reached him he had already gone down several times. The body was taken ashore, and two company doctors worked for over an hour to restore life, but failed.

Having no further use for its former faithful wage slave, the company then sent the body to the nearest police station, where it was held for hours, the closest personal friends and even relatives being denied to see it. All company officers refused to give to anyone the slightest information about the awful accident, and it was only through the partial stories of fellow workers that the facts were disclosed. It was, indeed, only through the thoughtfulness of a fellow employee that the stricken family became aware of its loss.

The body was later removed by the undertaker. The burial took place at Rahway, N. J., on Thursday, December 13. A memorial meeting in honor of Kinneally was held at Metropolitan Hall, in the Bronx, on Wednesday evening, December 12.

John J. Kinneally was one of the best known and most active Socialist Labor Party men in this city and country. He was the Party's candidate for comptroller in both of the municipal campaigns waged since the creation of Greater New York. In addition,

he was a prominent delegate to its national conventions, a member of the National Executive Committee when the committee was elected by Section New York County; and the member from New York State to that body under the present system of election by States.

The many minor capacities in which Kinneally served the party, would be too numerous to enumerate. He was campaign orator, chairman of important public and party meetings, and at one time in charge of the Party's headquarters in the Bronx.

Kinneally also held positions of trust and responsibility in closely allied or kindred organizations, and was as favorably thought of in them. He was the last National Secretary of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, prior to its merging into the Industrial Workers of the World, having been elected to that position at the Hartford convention. Kinneally was a delegate to the second annual convention of the I. W. W. recently held at Chicago, where he lined up with the revolution in its conflict with reaction. The convention recognized his sterling worth by making him one of the nominees for assistant General Secretary-Treasurer of the organization. At the time of his sudden demise, Kinneally was Secretary of New York Industrial Council. To the duties of this office he devoted the hours from 4.30 to 9 p. m. daily, attending to them after his day's toil. According to those in a position to judge, Kinneally was the ideal man for this job, his experience, enthusiasm, methodical training, persistency, and catholic temperament serving him well.

Kinneally was highly esteemed for his sincerity and activity. His honesty and devotion were never questioned or doubted. His record is a good one, and clean.

Kinneally was 47 years of age, being born in Rahway, N. J., in 1859. He was twenty-one years married, and leaves a beloved wife and three stalwart sons.

Mrs. Kinneally, his wife, is actively interested in the movement her husband served so well. A member of "The Socialist Women of the Bronx," the last regular meeting of the organization was to have been held at her home on the evening of her husband's burial.

## PARTY ACTIVITY

THE OLD S. L. P. NOT DEAD NOR EVEN SLEEPING.

Section Chicago Makes Merry and Adds to its Sinews of War—Wisconsin's Vote Shows Gains for the Party—In Pennsylvania Good Progress is Being Made—Ohio Vote Gets Up.

Chicago, December 4.—Last Saturday night the Socialist Labor Party of Chicago held their annual ball. It proved a huge success. Brand's Hall, the Pantheon Hall of the press and revolutionists, was filled to overflowing with men and women, who came to do themselves in aid of a good cause. By 9 p. m. they commenced to arrive, men and women, stalwarts of the S. L. P.; young girls and boys, new recruits and sympathizers. All seemed to have left the care and worry characteristic of the life of a proletarian at home.

Every number of the splendid programme was carried out with a vim and the crowd appreciated the efforts of our entertainers. The different Singing Societies rendered revolutionary songs; Miss Kleininger, a splendid piano solo; Mrs. Rothbach sang the Marseillaise and many others did their best to amuse in the interest of our great cause. The workers present appreciated their efforts by giving generous applause.

The announcement of Comrade Ball that dancing will commence was welcomed by those who came to swing the light fantastic of Terpsichore. Young and old then whirled around to the strains of Strauss' Waltzes and other popular dances. The old warhorses of the S. L. P. gathered in different places and talked over the different phases of the movement. Their cry was not "Was nun?" but to work! Agitate for the purpose of Organization, which will enable the workers to take and hold the means of production, without the interference and uncalled for advice of scheming politicians, is a Berger, Hilquit, etc.

Between dances many useful and fancy articles, contributed by zealous party workers, were auctioned off. Amongst them was a fancy silk cushion with the party's name from Mrs. Keegan; fine cut glass from Mrs. C. Neebe, and others too numerous to mention. All brought fancy prices.

Unbounded laughter was heard when two suckling pigs with baby bottles were offered for auction, donated, together with one dozen bottles of wine, by Comrade Freedman.

The Hungarian comrades provided the hungry with a goulash par excellence and Lockschen (Yiddish) as a side dish.

Amongst the crowd many nationalities were represented, but one and all united for a noble cause, the establishing of an Industrial Commonwealth. Some S. L. P. men were present also

and had a jolly good time with the rest until 3 p. m. Speech making was cut out; our purpose was to amuse and entertain the people at this time, in the lingo of one Mahoney.

We do not exactly know the financial end of the affair, but it is certain that a handsome surplus was realized. While those connected with the Volkszeitung Corporation Co. and the Yiddish Vorwaerts buy houses from the workers under false pretences, we will use the funds realized for agitation to the end of arousing our fellow workers in Chicago to see the necessity of coming together on the economic as well as the political field. Speed the day!

Amid the inspiring strains of the Marseillaise—strains which make the heart throb faster and the pulse beat quicker—the memorable affair ended.

### WISCONSIN'S VOTE

Shows Loss for Social Democrats and Gains for S. L. P.  
Milwaukee, Wis., December 1.—The official vote for this State gives Gaylord, Social Democratic candidate for Governor, 24,437 votes. In 1904, Debs received 28,220; a loss of 3,783. Rosas, Socialist Labor Party candidate for Governor, polled 455. In 1904, Corregan received 223, an increase of 232 votes.

### SECTION ALLENTOWN BOOMING

Allemtown, Pa., December 1.—Section Allentown is making good progress. At our last meeting the applications of eight new members were granted, and the following officers elected: John Keapple, Organizer; Fred Pfeifer, Secretary; Charles Tittiger, Treasurer; Agent for the Daily and Weekly People and Literature, Paul Dreisel; Agent for the Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung, John Keapple. House Committee, Henry Bohl, George Deah and G. Keapple.

The Treasurer was instructed to send ten dollars to the Party Press Sinking Fund, and six dollars for due stamps.

### PENNA. S. L. P.

Building Up and Extending Organization in the State.

Pittsburg, Pa., December 1.—Sections Allentown, Erie and Philadelphia of the Socialist Labor Party in this state are now reorganized and in good working order. With the reorganizing of Section Allentown, Erie and Philadelphia, and plans under way to raise necessary funds to employ state organizer, we will soon have an organization in this state that will make our enemies realize that the S. L. P. is not dead.

### OHIO VOTE GOES UP.

Cleveland, O., December 6.—The returns give the Socialist Labor Party ticket in Ohio 2,311 votes. Last year the vote was 1,808, so that we have gained 23 per cent over 1905. The returns for the S. P. show but a gain of 4 per cent over last year.

### BUFFALO WOMEN

Form Bebel Club for Spread of Socialism Among Their Sex.

Buffalo, December 5.—On the 25th of November, a Bebel Club was formed, embracing seven members at the outset. The women who formed the Club are very enthusiastic and propose to make the object of the Club the education of women regarding Socialism and its remedial effects on present conditions for themselves and all mankind.

The a b c's of Socialism must be taught first, or rather studied until we know our letters, and then the knowledge of placing letters in proper words will be easily learned. This seems to be the great necessity of Clubs for women, that they may really be drilled in what so many men have passed long ago and which they forget cannot be less than Egyptian darkness to those who have never been instructed along Socialist lines.

It is the hope of the Buffalo Bebel Club that throughout the Country there will be a chain of these Clubs, and from their fraternal work the cause of Socialism will receive new and strong supporters among women.

The Bebel Club of Buffalo endorsed the S. L. P. and I. W. W. and promised support, financially, politically and economically to the organizations. Entertainments are to be planned and carried out, and everything done to make the Club a grand success. There has been but two meetings, but already new members are being admitted and promises of more are coming in.

As a sister organization, we send greetings to the Socialist Women of the Bronx, and shall be glad to receive any suggestions or words of cheer that organization may send us.

## CONGRESSIONAL

### A STENCHFUL WHIFF ESCAPES FROM THE PANAMA ZONE.

The Affairs of the Panama Railroad Company Prove Matter for Ominous Warnings from Senator Morgan—A Piece of National Property Operated for Private Lucre, With Power to Compromise the Nation.

If Congress keeps up in the manner that it has begun, revelations before may be expected from the washing of dirty linen. Just four days after Congress assembled, Senator Morgan took the floor on the "Panama Canal" and before he sat down again he must have made Tillman's pitchfork look green with envy. He pitchforked the Secretary of War, the President, and the whole board of the Canal Commissioners, including the ubiquitous lawyer Cromwell. Senator Morgan's contention is that Government officials and private individuals are allowing United States property to be used as means for private speculation and dishonest transactions. Senator Morgan proved his case. It all turns upon the Panama Railroad.

The railroad is part and parcel of Panama Canal concession. Nevertheless the Government is allowing it to exist as an "artificial entity," and the "dead dummy" is allowed to control vast transactions without the knowledge of the members of the Commission who hold only nominal and perfunctory relations to the railroad company as dummy members of the board of directors. The property is wholly the Government's, but the cronies of the Government have it in charge and pluck it for their private benefit.

Nor did Senator Morgan stop there. He proceeded to prove that the Panama Railroad Company is not now run by the President through a committee, as law and safety requires, but that it is run absolutely by the will of the President, and that his will is wholly under the control of five directors, who grouped together, have the powers to call a meeting, and if five of them are present three of the number "can enact any law, establish any policy, effect any end that they may choose."

The Senator closed his cogent argument with these words: "We are hurrying along at a rapid gallop over this great enormous volcano in the Canal Zone. When we come to absurdities, contradictions, dangers, like those that I have been pointing out to-day, we pass them over and say: 'All is well; all is going right; the President of the United States is about to send a message here, AFTER THREE DAYS' OBSERVATION, in which he will show that the canal is all right. It does not make any difference, Mr. Morgan, or Mr. Anybody Else what you have got to say about it, off what the records prove about it, or what the testimony that has been taken before the committee shows, it is all right; we are going ahead. Gentlemen, you will not go much further until you stumble into a pit out of which you can not get."

Capitalism driving its pets headlong along needed in America only a Roosevelt to head the headlong rush.

### BIG I. W. W. STRIKE.

Schenectady, N. Y., December 11.—Four thousand men, organized in the I. W. W., struck in the General Electric Company works to-day. They demand the reinstatement of three members discharged for organizing the draughtmen.

### BUFFALO FREE SPEECH SUIT.

Tried By a Jury of Six Who Disagree—Believed New Authorities Will Drop Case.

Buffalo, N. Y., December 4.—The free speech case was tried to-day before six jurymen and the same municipal judge Hodson. After testimony was all in, Attorney Lewis made a strong plea in which he exposed deliberate discrimination of the police against Socialists, and pointed to the danger of tolerating such arbitrary conduct, branding it in open court as "Czaristic."

Counsel for the police appealed to the taxpayers' interests and threatened dire consequences to their wives unless such meetings were suppressed.

Judge Hodson practically directed a verdict of guilty. The jury, however, disagreed.

It is believed now that the authorities will drop the suit.



# AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION

## From the Frontier to the Factory; Its Social and Political Effects.

WRITTEN FOR THE PEOPLE BY JUSTUS EBERT,  
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

(This essay will be published serially in this and subsequent issues.)

(Concluded from last week.)

### THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The American Labor Union took the initiative in calling the Chicago conference, held in that city in January, 1905. This conference issued a manifesto calling for a convention to launch a new national labor organization on the lines of industrial unionism. This convention met in Chicago, July 1905, and was remarkable for its able criticism of the American Federation of Labor and its debates on the two-fold character—economic and political—of the labor and socialist movement. At this convention the Industrial Workers of the World was formed. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was represented at both the January conference and the July convention; and was merged, together with the American Labor Union, and many other unions there represented, into the new organization. The principles, objects, spirit and forms of the I. W. W. are clearly and well set forth in its preamble, as follows:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trades unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trades unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

### SOCIALIST UNITY.

Since its launching the I. W. W. membership has more than doubled, and is now estimated at over 65,000. The I. W. W. is now presented as the basis of unity between the Socialist and Socialist Labor Party; and is doing much to clarify the entire labor and socialist movement of this country. Unity conferences between organizations

\* See "Stenographic Report of the First Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World." Published by New York Labor News Co., 2-6 New Reade street, N. Y. City. Price, cloth, \$1.50; paper, \$1.00.

of the two parties have been held, the most notable being the New Jersey Unity Conference.

Thus it is that, in this modern adaptation of the advice of Thomas Skidmore, quoted in Chapter IV, the working class is preparing to take and hold that which they produce, and, in the words of Daniel De Leon, save the trust and throw it open to all society.

### CHAPTER XIV. CONCLUSION.

Let us, in a brief resume, conclude. Casting our eyes down the pages of American history, we see resulting from its industrial development, three sharply defined classes, with three sharply defined missions. We see the ultra-financial or ultra-capitalist class, the middle class, and the working class, in perpetual strife, in the defense and promotion of their economic and political interests and aspirations, with the ultra-financial or ultra-capitalist class triumphant, the middle class defeated, and the working class fast becoming the only antagonist to ultra-finance or ultra-capitalism worthy of the name. As we look about us to-day, upon the culmination of this development, we find, that even with a House of Representatives and a strenuous President to back it, the middle class—small shipper, farmer, and manufacturer—cannot enact a modern Granger law, in the shape of a railroad rate act, without such amendments as will sacrifice their own interests and advance those of their economic and political opponents, the ultra-capitalist class—a crushing defeat for the class that was once able to modify the course of capitalism in the interests of political and economic democracy, as it did in the early formative periods of the nation. If we cast observing glances about us to-day we will also see that while trust magnates are prosecuted, fined and imprisoned, the trust goes serenely on its way, reaching greater dimensions than ever before, entering even retail distribution, integrating, and piling up net earnings surpassing those of preceding decades, to the discomfiture of those economists who vain would have us regard the trust as a passing phenomenon whose abnormality would soon destroy itself, and permit its "normal" rival of lesser bulk to exist and prevail! We see further, if alert and attentive, Wm. R. Hearst, the present-day embodiment of anti-trustism, prevented, in the New York mayoralty campaign of 1905, from taking office by methods indicative of wholesale counting out—the Chicago Socialist Labor Party and the Henry George campaign enacted once more. In brief, which ever way we cast our receptive retina, it is impressed with the presence of a triumphant plutocracy and a defeated democracy—using the latter phrase to typify those elements that were once truly national forces—the small manufacturer and farmer. Further investigation also brings home to our sense-perception, as we look about us to-day, the presence of a rapidly developing working class that, conscious of its important functions and status in society is determined to combat ultra-capitalism not from a reactionary and destructive standpoint, but from an evolutionary and revolutionary one instead. The ultra-financial or ultra-capitalist class, parasitic and immoral to the core, would save the integrated trust for itself, in order that it may continue to fleece society and perpetuate its decadent reign; the minor grade capitalist or middle class would control the integrated trust with a view to destroying it; or have certain of its features state-owned for its especial relief; the working class would take and hold the integrated trust for the benefit of the whole of society. It recognizes the one salient fact of modern life, to wit, that capital is no longer individual in form or operation; that it is only possible of creation and maintenance

\* See "Proceedings of the New Jersey Socialist Unity Conference," James Reilly and John Hossack, Sec'y.

through the joint labors of hundreds, thousands, and millions, is, in brief, social in origin and results, and should therefore be owned by society, and not by private individuals called capitalists, organized in corporations. Recognizing that capital must be social in ownership as well as in form, operation and results, the working class advocates the abolition of capitalism and the capitalist class, just as in preceding American social systems the oncoming, rising class of burghers and commoners advocated the abolition of monarchy and the nobility, chattel slavery and the slave-holding oligarchy, because they recognized the social or democratic form of government and life. American history repeats itself on a modern plane.

To achieve these ends, the American working class has gone through the triple forms of technical, protective and constructive organization, in steady progression. That it has met with frequent failures in its striving for the ideal is no argument against its final attainment. The American nation did not spring, like another Jove, full-fledged from the heads and hearts, i. e., the ideals, of its dreamers, philosophers, warriors—in brief, its founders. These had to wait on conditions to admit of their realization. Only through the defensive union necessitated by the French and Indian wars, and the aggravating stimulus of the two-fold oppression of Great Britain, could congress and the nation emerge from the war for independence—a longer stretch of history, fuller of traitorous acts, defeats and failures than the mere words imply; yet, withal, only actually successful in succeeding decades, thanks to Western Democracy and the Civil War. So with the American working class or socialist movement: its ideals must also wait on evolution to create the conditions that will make them real, that will transform them from the stuff of which dreams are made to the concrete social institutions that will conduce to the happiness and progress of the entire human family. Evolution is doing its part—and doing it with cumulative rapidity. The ultra-financial or ultra-capitalist class, through its multifarious scandals, arising from its fierce factional struggles for the control of integralized industry, is laying bare its own parasitic and immoral nature, thus aiding in the destruction of the wall of reverence for its alleged superiority behind which it has so conveniently and hypocritically found a safe refuge. The tainted money discussion has also contributed to the same end, while, at the same time making clear the nefarious position of the church (one of Socialism's most brazen, yet pious opponents), regarding capitalist immorality; a position, that now, as in slavery times, stamps the church as the causistical upholder of iniquity and villainy; an enemy of social purity and progress; a mouthpiece of high morality and a practitioner of dung-hill virtue, worthy only of the scorn and contempt of the men and women who love life and ponder deeply o'er its mysterious origin and cause, and yet never, for one moment, think of using that mystery, as does the church, for the enslavement of their fellow men and women. The ruthless crushing out of competition, the burning of cotton and wheat to keep supply within profit, regardless of social needs, the effective control of elections and legislation, together with the impotent anti-trust punishment administered by the courts and the disclosures of Upton Sinclair, have made more evident to intelligent men, especially workmen, that the integrated trust magnates are all powerful, and their overthrow is only possible by a revolution, led and carried to success by a revolutionary working class. Add to all this the facts revealed by Robert Hunter, in his book "Poverty," namely, that we possess 7,000,000 poor and 3,000,000 paupers, while one per cent. of the families of the nation own more wealth than the remaining ninety-nine; add also, and above all else, the development of the constructive features of the trusts and the industrial unions—two great divergent yet converging tendencies—and we have a fairly good presentation of the conditions that go to help in making the ideals of Socialism real.

The working class is learning fast from American history. Four sets of facts impress it: one, the defeat of strikes and unions by political means, viz: police, militia and courts; two, the corruption of strikes and unions in the interests of the capitalist class by "labor leaders," a la Gompers and Mitchell; three, the failure to capture the political means by working class parties through fraud (counting

out); and four, the corruption of working class parties in the interests of the capitalist class. In other words, it sees the same set of facts militating against politics that militates against unionism, and vice-versa. And to the workman who says: "Trades unions alone will win labor's battle," it asks, "Where's the proof; in Home-Steade, Pullman, or Colorado?" To the workman who declares, "Only a working class political victory will give us freedom," it asks, "Do the words of Spies, and the fate of Henry George, Adams and Hearst justify that assertion?" The working class of this country has a history that repudiates lop-sidedness. Hence the working class is becoming comprehensive. It is backing its unions with politics; and its politics with unions, on class conscious lines.

An historical resume of the industrial evolution of this country, together with its social and political effects, makes patent the fact that Socialism, like a winding Mississippi, periodically recedes, only, under the flood of capitalist progress, to rise again and submerge the banks of society, depositing thereon a rich alluvial, productive of the finest vegetation. Or to adopt another simile: like the waves of the ocean Socialism recedes, only to return with such force, under the impetus of capitalist evolution, as to demolish the strong bulkheads of capitalism erected during the interim. Socialists, weary at heart with internecine warfare, disgusted with the apathy of the members of the working class, who are blind to their own interests, and discouraged with the petty daily features of their movement, may bemoan its seemingly puny status, when contrasted with overtowering capitalism, but an historical resume will impress them with its steady, upward growth, as a distinctive power, in the face of the great obstacles born of the irrepressible conflict of class interests. Socialism is the greatest, grandest, moral and social force of the age; the Herculean cleaner of the Augean stables of capitalism; and the perennial hope of the modern world. Capitalism may affect to deride Socialism; but whatever virtues its factory and tenement reforms, its "social service" and "welfare work," its anti-militarism may possess, are tubs thrown to the socialist whale. Capitalism may affect to deride Socialism, but its electoral baits, threats and frauds, its repeated judicial and military suppression of Socialism's manifestations, its newspaper and magazine discussion of Socialism, now no longer academic and condescending, but deadly practical like a man in the grip of an overpowering antagonist, show that Socialism is the one factor that dictates the course of Capitalism, the one thing it dreads, and dreading, coaxes, bulldozes, oppresses and combats, all to no avail, for Socialism refuses both the blandishments and the kicks of Capitalism, and like another God of old laughs at the contortions of its creature, while going serenely on its way, preparing the inevitable moment when it will end his impudent career. We are living in revolutionary times, and Socialism leads the way. It has its martyrs, not alone in the splendid men whose names are forever emblazoned on the pages of our history—in the gifted, cultured Spies, the fiery, magnanimous Parsons, the impetuous, defiant Lingg, and their self-sacrificing compatriots of 1887—but in the humblest workmen and workingwomen—the Irish laborer, the Jewish operator, the German mechanic, the Italian artisan and the American railroad worker or miner—all of whom give unselfishly of their small possessions and their great selves to the grand cause—the cause of humanity. The writer knows these men and women well. He has been of them, feeling the thrill of their aspirations, enjoying the keenness of their intellectual dissections of capitalism, and marvelling at the beauty of their moral lives. True, they are not all like that; the fakir, the ingrate, and the consummate villain who would live like a vampire on these noble types, also abound; but woe to him who thinks that they are the Socialist movement. Woe to him who thinks that upon them he can count to destroy Socialist principle and aspiration! He will build on a foundation of shifting sand, from which the Socialist structure never suffers, because it is more broadly based, having its foundations in the material changes, which, underlying all societies, give rise to, and make possible, their varied aspirations and ideals!

Long live the working class! Long live Socialism!

THE END.

## BLACKGUARD PULPITEERING

[By M. D. FITZGERALD, NEW YORK.]

The explosion of the bomb in St. Peter's did not come as a surprise to the Catholics of Columbus, who are inclined to believe that it is the first answer of the anarchists and socialists who are being bitterly fought by the church in every country in the world.

Catholics in Columbus are inclined to believe that no direct attempt was made to assassinate the pope, but that the explosion was the outcome of a preconcerted movement to show contempt for law and authority.

"In the diocese of Columbus the Catholic church has taken a strong stand against socialism, and only two weeks ago Rev. J. B. Eis, pastor of the Sacred Heart church, and Rev. J. R. Volz, president of St. Patrick's college, spoke in opposition to the doctrine of socialism and predicted practically what took place Sunday.

"Rev. Eis said that a socialist, no matter whether he lived in a monarchy or a Republic, whether he was a free man or a slave, would always be found to be a traitor and endeavoring to overthrow the government. Socialism, he said, meant the destruction of the church, the home and the state, the destruction of society."

The above from a Columbus O. newspaper, is deserving of more than a rebuke from every decent member of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

As one of the above and withal a staunch member of the Socialist Labor Party, also of the Industrial Workers of the World, I believe that before any further notice be taken in regard to this sour-noise Ohioan production, the reverend gentlemen mentioned therein should be given an opportunity to confirm or refute the remarks credited to them.

There is now such an epidemic of rampant blackguard journalism, and pulpiting raging against Socialism in the United States that it becomes necessary when nailing down the lies uttered against Socialism by the men behind the pen and the man behind the cross, to do so effectively that no guilty one shall escape.

If my Socialist comrades in Columbus O., had been with me in St. Patrick's cathedral on Fifth Ave. in this city during a series of Lenten sermons delivered

by the Rev. Father Sherman, son of the famous General, he would have heard Father Sherman make the following reply to a question, (this question he found with many others in the "Question box" that was placed in the vestibule to receive questions): "Why is the Catholic Church opposed to Socialism?"

"The Socialists are destructionists, we are constructionists. It is hard to answer this question definitely as they have various opinions concerning marriage, property, and the Church, they would take the roof off this Church and would not state what they would put in its place. I have often combatted them in the Northwest where socialism is growing at an alarming rate. This question cannot be answered without a more extended dissertation. I am willing to meet socialists in debate if they will define their conception of the relation of marriage, property, and the Church."

This reply is not verbatim, but it is very nearly so.

I was delighted to know that at last we had found a noted member of the Catholic hierarchy willing and able to meet a socialist in public debate.

I wrote one, two, three, letters to Father Sherman offering to make arrangements for a public debate leaving all the details to his own convenience as to time, place, and conduct of the debate. I submitted copy of the first letter to Daniel De Leon editor of our Daily and Weekly People. He said the letter covered the subject satisfactorily and also gave his opinion that the reverend gentleman had no intention of doing as he promised. Although I am now inclined to believe De Leon had an intuitive knowledge that the reverend gentleman would back down. I am not yet through with him.

It would be well to ascertain the calibre of the Editor of the paper that published this squib against Socialism. The majority of the present day editors in the United States know more about Omega Oil and soap advertisements than they do about the science of Socialism. However, the Catholic church is not located in Columbus O. but in Rome, Italy, and perhaps it would be well to have a public debate in Columbus O. on the platform and Constitution of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States and

the Program of the Industrial Workers of the World. If such were held and the Catholic Church of Ohio had settled the matter satisfactorily, the local editor, the Rev. J. B. Eis, and the Rev. J. R. Volz, president of St. Patrick's College could be sent over to Rome as the great American Triumvirate who had squelched Socialism in the United States.

No doubt the Holy Father and the college of Cardinals would sing Hosannas to the great men who saved the church, saved the State, saved Society and the Great American Republic from the "Terrible Socialists." Returning in triumph having placed all socialist literature on the "Index Expurgatorius," they could then collect all the proscribed literature and placing it in a huge pile in some public square in Columbus O. and making of it a funeral pyre, our Socialist comrades and all other heretics and persons disagreeing with their "Society" could be disposed of to the everlasting good of humanity and Our Holy Mother Church.

This subject is of such vast importance to the working class throughout the world without regard to race, creed, or color that it is with reluctance one becomes in any way facetious about it. As regards myself I feel most deeply when I consider how very beautiful the teaching of the Roman Catholic religion is, and how much solace may be obtained if one lifts his mind above the mercenary and selfish considerations of this wicked and deceitful society in which laymen have to scramble for a bare existence.

My ancestors espoused the Catholic faith in Ireland when it required great sacrifice on their part, and I believe it is to-day the very best religion to live by, notwithstanding the fact that all the leading anti-socialists of the world, led by His Royal Majesty King Edward VII, who swears it is idolatry, unite in various ways to belittle its teachings, and even the teaching of its founder, Jesus Christ.

I have been more than twenty-five years a student of social economy from the Socialist view point, meeting and mingling with Socialist comrades of all shades of opinion and never yet have I heard any of them disparage any other one's views on their individual moral or

religious feelings. Quite the contrary, the feeling that

"Your creed or shrine may not be mine,  
Yet love of liberty should bind us,  
In freedom's holy cause to join,  
And cast distrust behind us."

is the guiding spirit of every militant member of the Socialist Labor party and of the I. W. W.

It is barely possible that your rampant anti-socialist editor of Columbus O. has not had time to learn or observe the fact that Anarchism and Socialism have nothing in common. The industrial and commercial anarchists here in the United States, while clutching wildly at each other's throat, relax their efforts long enough at certain periods to join forces in a common onslaught against their greatest enemy, Socialism.

In conclusion I would recommend increased distribution of sound Socialist literature from the New York Labor Press, particularly in Columbus O. Our clerical enemies there should study the beautiful lines "A Parable" by James Russell Lowell and for scientific information concerning Socialism, study "Capital" by Karl Marx.

### A PARABLE.

Said Christ, our Lord, "I will go and see  
How the men, my brethren, believe in me."  
He passed not again through the gate  
Of birth,  
But made himself known to the children  
Of earth.

Then said the chief priests, and rulers,  
and kings,  
"Behold, now, the Giver of all good  
things;  
Go to, let us welcome with pomp and  
state  
Him who alone is mighty and great."

With carpets of gold the ground they  
spread  
Wherever the Son of man should tread,  
And in palace chambers lofty and rare  
They lodged him, and served him with  
kingly fare.

Great organs surged through arches  
dim  
Their jubilant floods in praise of him;  
And in church and palace and judgment  
hall,  
He saw his image high over all.

But still, wherever his steps they led,  
The Lord in sorrow bent down his head,  
And from under the heavy foundation  
stones,  
The Son of Mary heard bitter groans.

And in church and palace and judgment  
hall,  
He marked great fissures that rent the  
wall,  
And opened wider and yet more wide  
As the living foundation on heaven and  
sighed.

"Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,  
On the bodies and souls of living men?  
And think ye that building shall endure,  
Which shelters the noble and crushes the  
poor?"

"With gates of silver and bars of gold  
Ye have fenced my sheep from their  
father's fold;  
I have heard the dropping of their tears  
In heaven these eighteen hundred years."

"O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,  
We build but as our fathers built;  
Behold thine images, how they stand,  
Sovereign and sole, through all our land.

"Our task is hard—with sword and  
flame

To hold thine earth forever the same,  
And with sharp crooks of steel to keep  
Still, as thou leftest them, thy sheep."

Then Christ sought out an artisan,  
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,  
And a motherless girl, whose fingers  
thin

Pushed from her family want and sin.

These set he in the midst of them,  
And as they drew back their garment  
hem,  
For fear of defilement, "Lo, here," said  
he,  
"The images ye have made of me!"  
James Russell Lowell.

## INTEREST IN THE PRESS

### SECTIONS TAKE UP WORK OF INCREASING CIRCULATION—DONATIONS TO XMAS BOX

For the week ending December 8th, 157 subs were received for the Weekly People, and 39 mail subs to the Daily People, a total of 196, which is 22 less than for the previous week. Those sending five or more subs were: George Haseller, Detroit, Mich., 13; E. Singewald, So. Norwalk, Conn., 15; F. Bombach, Boston, Mass., 6; C. Meyer, Boston, Mass., 5; Fred. Brown, Cleveland, O., 5.

Prepaid cards sold: Belleville, Ill., \$4; Jamestown, N. Y., \$2.

While the subscriptions have not begun to increase much as yet we are pleased to note that the Party organization is considering this important question of pushing the propaganda by means of the Party press. Section Kings County, N. Y., for instance, discussed the matter thoroughly and advise us that they will treble the present circulation in Brooklyn by October 1st, 1907. The work is to begin at once.

The New York State Executive Committee is getting out a circular on agitation in which a plan for selling the Weekly People at factory gates by boys will be elaborated.

Some of the individual readers are also taking an interest in the work of getting subscriptions. One in Syracuse, N. Y., writes that he is a firm adherent of The People and its cause and that he will try and send some subs in the near future.

Donations to the Daily People Xmas Box are coming in. J. Finkbohner, G.

Signarovsky and J. Carlson head the list, with \$6.50 to their credit. We have yet to hear from Xmas subs.

Meanwhile we have sent out a great many blanks to Party members and the Party organization in general on which it is time we had some returns. It isn't declaiming for the Revolution that counts so much as what you DO to bring it about. On all sides the consensus of opinion is that our press is THE means for propaganda. Let us spread the light.

It might be of interest all around to learn why it is that more activity for the Party press is not shown by some sections and members. Those who do little or nothing should tell us why they don't do more.

The Labor News had some good orders during the week. I. W. W. San Francisco, \$10.50; Section Vancouver, B. C., \$8.13; Goldfield, Nev., \$8.22; I. W. W. Portland, Ore., \$4.38; Grand Junction, Colo., \$4; Unity Club, New York, \$5.10; Newport, Ky., \$3.00; Pittsfield, Mass., \$2.75; Lawrence, Mass., \$2.10; Brooklyn, N. Y. Socialist Educational Club, \$2.10; Hammond, Ind., \$1.50. The smaller orders were quite numerous. We are still sending out catalogues and printed matter to new people; send us more names for this purpose.

Don't forget the slogan of Section Schenectady, N. Y.: "No Press No Movement. No movement, no working class emancipation." On with the press, on with the movement, on with emancipation.

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# INDUSTRIALISM IN FRANCE

SKETCH OF THE LAY OF THE LAND AND SUMMARY OF THE AMIENS CONVENTION.

BY A. BRUCKERE, PARIS.

(Special to The People.)

In a recent article in The People I tried (as much as a foreigner can) to make S. L. P. men know the progress of the industrialists in France, and their Eight-Hour Day agitation for May 1st, 1906.

May Day is over, and the French Trade Unions met in their convention at Amiens (October 10th to 19th), to study the work done since the last convention, and to decide upon tactics for future action.

Let me say first that the Amiens Convention was a triumph for revolutionary industrialism, for the true Socialist spirit. I shall first take up the events preceding the convention.

Results of the Last May Agitation.

The last May Day movement has had very slight economic results. The workers met the stubborn resistance of a class-conscious bourgeoisie. Even when some capitalists saw an economic possibility of granting a shorter day, they did not, for political reasons: a half-penny more per hour would have been a step towards the "Coming Revolution". The strikes were broken by military action on the part of a few thinking, atheist, pro-Dreyfus radical Ministry!

But the political results of the last May agitation are momentous.

Nowadays, in France, all economic movements have, more and more, the political aspect of a class war. The delusion of a policy of "Harmony of Interest" between Capital and Labor has become utterly impossible: such a result is worth mentioning.

The spirit of the class war has been infused into an immense majority of the labor unions, and the bourgeois Government understood it was necessary to grant some reforms of an economic character, i. e., to pay some insurance premium against revolution.

As a consequence of the last industrial agitation, a law was enacted for Weekly Rest, by Sunday compulsory rest. In "anti-clerical" France, Sunday rest is considered to be clerical by the politicians, and for the sake of Liberty and Commerce millions of laborers worked seven days per week.

Small shop keepers oppose stubbornly the law, and the battle is raging between the labor unions and the shopkeepers about the enactment of the law. The voting of the law was imposed by "action directe"; the enforcement of the law will be imposed by "action directe" too.

"Action directe" means political action exclusive of the parliamentary practice. The capitalist call it "mobbing" or "unlawful outrages". The bourgeois Government feels so clearly that they must "grant something" that a new extreme-radical Cabinet has been formed, creating a new Labor Department and promising wonderful reforms.

A so-called Socialist, J. A. Millerand, Mr. Viviani, has been appointed Minister of this new Labor Department. Strange to say: the appointment of Millerand, in 1899, as a Minister, was sufficient to dispirit the labor movement, a large part of it giving up revolutionary action and hoping for the co-operative Commonwealth from purely reformist methods.

On the contrary, the appointment of Viviani, with a much larger program of reforms than Millerand's, aroused distrust only among organized workers. They understood that this new Secretary of a Labor Department had only one aim: to domesticate the revolutionary unions. They wait ironically for the next act of bankruptcy by ever-increasing Radicalism.

Since May, 1904, the C. G. T. (Confederation Generale du Travail, i. e., General Confederation of Labor) was little known to the public, and the Socialist party never recognized it officially as representative of the working class.

Now the C. G. T. is immensely advanced, and the Socialist party, in its last convention at Limoges (November 1st to 4th) solemnly recognized it as the economic organization of the proletariat.

The most representative industrialists, Griffuelhes, Pouget, etc., whom the Socialists denounce as Anarchists, contribute now regularly to the Socialist daily: Humanite (James Jouin), where they have a right to say what they please, without any control. In short, the great result of the May movement has been to infuse a spirit of class war, to arouse a spirit of fight in the working class, to give the revolutionists an unswerving control over the labor movement and before this pugnacious aggressive working class, the revolutionists alternatively use either repression or unlimited reformism.

Such was the situation of the labor political field, after the May Day movement, and at the eve of the Amiens industrialist convention.

## THE AGENDA OF THE CONVENTION.

### The Textile Revolution.

The previous convention, at Bourges (1894), had divided the trade unionists into a reformist minority and a revolutionary majority. After the experience of the last May Day with the "action directe," the question was: Will the minority grow, at the Amiens convention, into a majority or will it become smaller? Will the Confederal Committee remain unchanged? Will "action directe" be endorsed once more? Will anti-militarism be endorsed?

Some months before the meeting of the convention the Textile Federation wrote on the agenda a proposition, which proved to be the capital point of the debate: "Will the economic organization of the proletariat (C. G. T.) entertain regular relations with the political organization (Socialist party)?"

In order to understand more clearly the real meaning of the Textile resolution, I must make an historical digression.

When, some years ago, in every part of France, different Socialist "schools" (or sects) existed and counterpoised each other until they merged completely after Unity in 1895, one of the socialist parties, the P. O. F. (Parti Ouvrier Francaise) dominated without competition in the industrial districts of northern France (Lille, Roubaix, etc.).

The P. O. F. entirely controlled the trades unions and the co-operative stores, as well as the political groups in these districts; and they control the Textile Federation, for the majority of Textile workers live in northern France (the silk workers of Lyons excepted).

As Socialists, our textile worker comrades of the north wrote the same resolution (or about the same) on the agenda of the socialist convention at Limoges, that they did, as trade unionists, on the agenda of Amiens.

The two conventions were held almost at the same time: industrialists at Amiens October 10-14—Socialists at Limoges, November 1-4th—they studied about the same questions. Comrade Renard explained in both conventions the views of the North. Peace or war between Socialists and industrialists would result from the two animated debates. It turned out Peace, for the Limoges convention endorsed industrialism and anti-militarism, just as the Amiens convention.

## WHAT WE, THE GUESDISTES, THINK . . .

After this historical digression, let me explain the views of our comrades of the north and of the Textile Federation, or, as Comrade Renard said: "What we, the Guesdists, the wicked ones, think . . ."

First: Revolutionary industrialism is utopian. The only role of the union is to get some daily reforms; it is neither reactionary nor revolutionary, but purely neutral and reformist. Outside of this work of reforms, "THE UNION IS OF NO USE FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY." The real object of the union is "PURE AND SIMPLE UNIONISM."

Second: In a Socialist society, the organization of industrial unionism will be worthless. Society will work according to a totally different scheme. It will not be an industrial, but a social, a State-production.

Many of our foreign comrades will be astonished at what they are just reading, for the above-mentioned views mean nothing more than inert and corrupt pure and simple reformism for the present, and State-capitalism for the future. But anybody can write (money order enclosed) and get the report of the Amiens convention (38 rue Grange aux Belles, Paris) and the report of the Limoges convention (18 rue de la Corderie, Paris).

It is a prevailing legend that Comrade Guesde and his followers are revolutionists. Indeed, they speak very much of revolution, but on industrial grounds, they are—what you have just read.

On political grounds, they hope to use parliamentary action for revolutionary purposes—they hope to pick plums from an apple-tree.

The best weapon ("arme de precision") which they promote is the BALLOT. "Ballot cures everything." For any social evil, use the ballot.

They are the typical "political visionaries" which Comrade De Leon described. Such political visionaries seen by De Leon in America exist also on this side of the water.

Guesdism is, logically and historically, the father of Millerandism.

Indeed Guesde opposed Millerandism

with the utmost energy: Sometimes we see hens hatching ducks, and getting afraid when the ducks go to the water. Anyhow, we have perceived, after the Limoges Socialist convention that, in some respects, Comrade Guesde sits now at the right wing of the Party.

From the above-mentioned premises, our comrades of the North draw the conclusion that the Party, the electoral machine, is the essential part, and that the unions ought to be governed and advised by the Party as a boy is advised by the father, or rather as a tenderfoot is advised by a long-experienced ranchman.

Anyhow the industrial Amiens convention did not relish very much the strange mixture of revolutionary phraseology, parliamentarism, and pure and simple, of the Textile Federation. After a heated, but never disorderly and always interesting debate, the "MAKE POLITICS IN THE UNION" resolution was defeated by 724 to 34 votes.

## RESOLUTIONS VOTED.

A resolution, moved by Comrade Griffuelhes, defined the role of industrialism, and its situation respecting political parties:

### First Resolution.

"The Amiens convention emphasizes paragraph No. 2 of the constitution: THE C. G. T. group, OUTSIDE OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY, all workers who are conscious of the necessity of the destruction of the wage system."

This declaration is based upon the recognition of a class war.

"In its everyday work, industrialism looks for the organization of labor, and for the welfare of the workers by the shortening of the work-day, betterment of wages, etc. But this is only a part of its work: industrialism prepares the total emancipation, which can be only realized by the expropriation of capitalism."

"It endorses the general strike, and considers that the union, now a means of resistance, will be the organic basis of the future society."

"The union then may, outside the union, promote any method of fight, according to their own philosophical or political creeds, but they must not try to make the opinions, they promote outside, prevail inside the union."

"In order to give industrialism its full efficiency, the action must be made directly against the employers, and the unions must have no relations with any sect or party."

Carried by 224 to 3.

### Second Resolution.

"The convention emphasizes that the anti-militarist and anti-patriotic propaganda must become more and more intense and audacious."

"In all strikes, the army supports the employers. In all wars, either national or colonial, the working class is sacrificed for the profit of the capitalist class."

Carried by 488 to 310.

### Third Resolution.

"The craft unions are requested to merge into industrial unions; in future no craft federation may be constituted only industrial federations."

## TENDENCIES INSIDE THE C. G. T.

The Amiens convention marked an epoch in the history of French industrialism.

Formerly the French trade unionists were divided into reformists (Keufer, Coupac, etc.) and revolutionists (Griffuelhes, Louget, Latapie, etc.). The reformists prevailed from 1885, when the C. G. T. was constituted until 1900, when the anti-Millerand tide came; since then the revolutionists prevailed.

The Bourges convention, in 1904, marked a heated fight between these two elements. The Amiens convention in 1906, reconciled both elements in the following manner: the purely Anarchists became a little more moderate and less theoretical, and, at the same time, the reformists accepted the theory and the practice of class war.

The typical reformist federation, Le Livre (Book Workers' Union), had a remarkably energetic action during the last May revolutionary movement, and its leader, Keufer, had to give up his pet class harmony policy.

Both tendencies were united against the little so-called "Guesdist" minority. The big majority of 724 to 34 is not exactly a majority IN FAVOR of something, but a majority AGAINST the ideas of the leaders of the Textile Federation.

After the Amiens convention, we can divide the tendencies inside the C. G. T. in the following way:

First: Towards the extreme right, pure and simple craft unionists, typified by Keufer, who are reformists on both economic and political grounds. They grow fewer and fewer every

year, and, even in their own Unions, they perceive an ever-growing revolutionary minority against them.

Second: From the right, pure and simple unionists, who are revolutionary parliamentarians on political grounds; but who think the Union has only a secondary and transient and purely reformist function. They are neither craft nor industrial unionists, but rather of the go-as-can-go system, the principal duty of the union being to pay dues to the electoral party. They are typified by Renard, of the Textile Federation; they are a little handful, mostly Comrade Guesde's followers.

Third: To the left are the revolutionary industrialists, who are the ruling element. Some of the leaders are Socialists, some are Anarchists (as Pouget, Niel, Latapie), the majority are no-party men.

These no-party men are most generally Socialists who have retired from the party, being disgusted with electoral wire-pulling, such as Griffuelhes, Bousquet, Luquet, Duberos, Merheim, Robert, Levy, etc.

Fourth: To the extreme left stand pure Anarchists, as Yvetot or Delesalle, who are in the C. G. T. as the leaven in the bread. Even by their violence and exaggeration they maintain vividly the revolutionary spirit and non-parliamentary traditions, for, as everybody knows, the C. G. T. is the result of an alliance between Socialists and Anarchists against economic pure and simple and political Millerandism.

HOW THE C. G. T. STANDS WHEN SEEN FROM OUTSIDE.

After having had a look inside the C. G. T., let us glance at its position respecting the State, the Socialist party, and the other Unions.

To the bourgeois press, the C. G. T. looms up as a great social power, and the statesmen begin to count it among the big political odds. The trade councils which receive money from the town-councils, are preparing themselves to refuse such subsidies and to become entirely autonomous.

Respecting the Socialist party, we may say that, for the last five years there was, if not a war, at least bad feelings between the C. G. T. and the party. After Amiens, there is a truce. The majority of industrialists at Amiens, the majority of Socialists at Limoges, voted for about the same resolutions, both endorsing anti-militarism, general strike and revolutionary action. The party and the C. G. T. will come little by little to an alliance, each one remaining independent. And if the industrialists criticize the "political visionaries" (Guesde's friends), such criticisms are not against the whole party, but only against a minority in the party.

The Socialist party has solemnly recognized, at the Limoges Convention, the C. G. T. as the representative of organized labor, and declared to have no right to interfere in the C. G. T. affairs. Prominent industrialists contribute regularly to the Socialist daily Humanite.

To the other Unions, they affiliate one after the other with the C. G. T., just as particles of iron go and stick to a magnet.

The boss-ridden miners' union, with some 60,000 members, which suffered so much from the intrusion of despotic politicians, such as Basly (a member of the Party, alas!), into labor affairs, is negotiating affiliation with the C. G. T.

There will be soon, in France, no bona-fide Union outside the C. G. T. The unions left outside will be only "yellow unions" (syndicats jaunes) i. e., catholic societies for scabbing, organized strike-breakers. What a victory for industrialism and for non-parliamentary revolutionary Marxism!

Just a handful of men ten years ago, FEWER than the I. W. W. are now in America, unknown people as the I. W. W. in Scotland, the French industrialists conquered, within ten years, through a merciless struggle. To-day, they rule the labor movement in a country of 39,000,000 people. They will be soon not only the greatest but also the ONLY representative of organized labor in France.

What cannot the I. W. W. hope for when seeing such an example! Extending its action over the frontiers, our C. G. T. is becoming the champion of industrialism in continental Europe. The International Socialist Secretary at Brussels, which unites the labor organizations of European countries, declined to write on its agenda the study of antimilitarism and general strike; the C. G. T. protested against this trickery of English and German pure and simple, and we will rally to our tactics those who, in Italy and in Germany, fight against pure and simple unionism, and against pure and simple political Socialism.

Fearing by the Government, the C. G. T. is already a state within the State, and it is only the beginning of its growth! When fully grown, industrialism will realize the Marxian prophecy: "Emancipation of the Workers by the Workers THEMSELVES!"

A. BRUCKERE.

# REPORT OF GENERAL SECRETARY TRAUTMANN

TO THE DELEGATES ASSEMBLED IN CONVENTION, AND THE MEMBERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, SEPT 17, 1906.

(Continued from last week.)

In no country of the world has it been better demonstrated that the co-operation between the wealth producers in city and on the land is essential to a success of revolutionary movement than in France and recently in Russia, and failures are due to the absence of that co-operation. But the advocates of a mistaken idea, that the farmer, as owner of land, has interest in common with laborers, and that therefore the existing farmers' organizations should be invited for mutual co-operation do not seem to realize that the battle of the farmer against the corporations and railroads is not the battle of the wage earners for the full product of their labor. As an exploiter of labor during harvest days the farm-owners is the most cruel master and labor-fleece, and when the supply of available labor for the few summer months becomes scarce, he will employ the same vicious tricks as the capitalists in cities; and through deception and fraudulent games endeavor to delude the sellers of labor power to fill the shortage in supply. But he, the farmer, will not think of making voluntarily the working conditions of the farm employees, such that the laborers, leaving the overstocked labor market of the cities will find conditions more advantageous to themselves on the land.

The organization of farm employees is therefore necessary, so that in the periods when the demand of laborers for the farms exceeds the possible supply, such working conditions may be obtained for the farm laborer, as to enable him also to see the necessity of co-operation with the workers in the cities for the establishing of conditions, under which the private ownership of land and all elements of production will be abolished and the exploitation by owners of factories or of farm land will cease.

In countries like the United States and Canada, in which state boundary lines are used as subterfuge to prevent labor legislation on national lines, it is well nigh impossible to demand the suppression of private employment agencies, the unscrupulous sharks, through whom the farm exploiter is able to deceive and lure into their serfdom many an unfortunate worker from the city, who, unprotected, has no choice but to submit to get sufficient money together to escape the veritable hell work on the farms during the harvest and other days.

Only an organization of these farm employees, systematically conducted, will be able to secure the required protection to these members of our class.

For this work of organizing the farm laborers we must look for actual support to the thousands and hundred of thousands of wage earners in the lumber camps of the United States and Canada.

No element is so faithful to the principle when once understood as the hard-working pioneer proletarians in the woods, nor a group of toilers who will fight more vigorously for their rights than those who, with pride, call themselves the lumber jacks. Their relation with the farm laborers, the fluctuating character of their employment should serve as the key to open the field for the organizing of the farm wage slaves.

In the summer months most of the lumbermen work as farm hands or in the sawmills, and many a blacklisted mechanic from industrial centers seeks, as a last refuge from the master's persecution, employment as constantly shifting farm laborer and lumberman.

The Industrial Workers of the World have organized and are organizing with astonishing success the lumbermen in different parts of the country. Thousands of them have joined the I. W. W. in the last few months; in many places the shifting volunteer advocates of Industrial Unionism have conducted the movements for the improved working conditions in the lumber camps; literature is being poured into the camps, and the work of education and organizing is carried on with incessant activity.

But the lumbermen and saw-mill employees should not be contented with obtaining a protection during only a part of the year while engaged in their hard work in the woods and mills. They should conceive that their own condition will be jeopardized if the I. W. W. fails to organize the workers in the fields in which they seek and secure employment during the remainder of the year; that is mostly in agricultural occupations. They should assist in organizing the farm laborer and carry the propaganda for Industrial Unionism all the year around among their fellow workers in their lines of activity, and then they will be assured that their card deposited in organizations of farm laborers guarantees them the same protection as

they have secured now while being members of the same organization while employed in the lumber camps and sawmills during the other part of the year.

But to assure a successful protection of farm laborers and lumbermen it is absolutely necessary to get the organization so organized in direct touch, through the general administration of the I. W. W., with the organizations of industrial workers in the cities.

This must be done so that the central organizations and unions may immediately set the propaganda committees into motion and acquaint the workers in the industrial centers with the prevailing conditions in the various agricultural and lumber districts during such times, when inducements are offered by the employment sharks to get into those districts a greater number of wage earners in excess of what is needed, so that through such surplus of labor they can more successfully compel the wage earner to submit to a lower standard of livelihood.

Great results, surprising even to the advocates of an industrial democracy, as by the organized efforts of farm, agricultural and forest workers have been achieved in such countries in which the high importance of these toilers was understood by all those struggling for the emancipation of the wealth producers; greater still will be the achievements, quicker will come the day of labor's victory, if this convention will adopt such measures, whereby that much desired co-operation of farm and forest workers with the city proletariat will be established, and the future work of the I. W. W. be mapped out by the combined intelligence of those assembled here.

## The Label Question.

In the literature placed before the interested wage earners of the land, the salient points of difference between an emblem representing working-class solidarity, as the universal label of the I. W. W. should, and a trade-union label serving the interests of the capitalists sellers of commodities, was not sufficiently emphasized, partly due to lack of time of those in the general office, who, by taking care of that most important part of constructive work, had to slight the also important destructive propaganda against capitalist-controlled institutions. The advocacy of a universal label appears to be a compromise, and for that reason alone have ardent members advocated its abolition.

While it is true that through the label propaganda of the craft unions the interests of a certain per centage of manufacturers were benefitted at the expense of the bread-winners, and although it cannot be denied that it served as a club to force into submission many a militant body of workers at the behest of the employers of labor, and suppress any rebellion against the oppression of the master, often used on goods of inferior quality for the purpose of closing a market for manufacturers, who have combined with labor leaders in an unholy alliance, yet the fundamental causes as have led to the creation of a universal label should also be taken into consideration before the future attitude of the Industrial Workers of the World in the label question is determined and decided on.

Proceeding from the theory that the combination of pure and simple unions with employers of labor for the mutual protection of what they think to be their mutual interest, a large portion of the wage earners in this country have been poisoned with the erroneous idea that the "union label" stood for fair working conditions, and for this reason alone have thousands of the unsophisticated given support to the propaganda for union labeled goods.

A power of oppression has thus been created by the workers unconsciously though to most of them, and placed in the hands of the agents of the employers at the head of craft unions, a weapon used for the persecution of members of the I. W. W. and others, who dare to rebel against the wrongs heaped upon them.

This power, wielded by the many holding erroneous ideas in their collective capacity, should be destroyed; but for this purpose an emblem symbolizing the solidarity of the wage earners in its coherent, invincible might, should be used to call the attention of those, whom we expect, in days to come, to become the component parts of the I. W. W., to the differences between craft divided organizations and one that intends to, and will, unite the workers on both the economic, the most essential field, as well as on the political, so as to give expression in augmenting numbers, of the will-power of the producers to shape the destinies of society in conformity to the needs of those constituting its pillars and upholders.

(To be continued next week.)

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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1885	2,088
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	35,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

Subscription price of the Weekly People:  
60 cents a year; 25 cents for six  
months.

On stormy nights when wild north-  
westers rave,  
How proud a thing to fight with wind  
and wave!

The dripping sailor on the reeling mast  
Exults to hear, and scorns to wish it  
past.  
—CLOUGH.

## SAMUEL SPENCER.

A LIE, said Carlisle, will never  
stand: it is like a cheque, drawn upon  
Nature's Bank, and bound to return  
with the endorsement "No Effects."

Samuel Spencer, the president of the  
Southern Railway, who was recently  
killed in an accident on his own rail-  
road, together with his work, was one,  
or were a bunch, of these lies, drawn  
upon Nature's Bank. His death reads  
"No Effects" endorsed upon the re-  
turned cheque.

Samuel Spencer, all his biographers  
agree, was a "wonderful financial suc-  
cess." The 9,000 miles of trackage that  
he presided over yielded dividends to an  
extent that made the returns of  
other roads often look trifling. The  
dividends looked sound; yet they were  
a LIE. The dividends were swollen  
by the reduction of expenses. Samuel  
Spencer proceeded upon the principle  
of all other capitalist concerns—they  
cheese-pare here, they shave down  
there, they whittle yonder. Longer and  
longer trains were shouldered upon  
fewer and fewer workers; traffic in-  
creased, hands declined relatively; the  
road-bed suffered, the service suffered;  
employees were maimed, often killed in  
the process; their blood and lives be-  
came dividends—until the LIE came  
crashing back. "No Effects!" thun-  
dered the Bank of Nature. The thun-  
der was a rumbling only, so long as  
only the lives of workmen paid the  
penalty. At last the day came when  
the thunder became a crash, the day  
Samuel Spencer himself proved the  
LIE with his death. Samuel Spencer  
the "wonderful financial success" was  
a cheque drawn upon Nature's Bank;  
the day came when the cheque was dis-  
honored.

Samuel Spencer was boastfully  
pointed out as typical of the capitalist  
"Captain of Industry." The people in  
their collective capacity, so runs the  
claim, can never do what the "Cap-  
tains of Industry" can accomplish.  
Public ownership, so runs the theory, is  
barren, private ownership is fruitful.  
The LIE traveled long; that cheque  
drawn upon Nature's Bank has been  
long in circulation, taken for its face  
value. Many such cheques are afloat;  
no end of them are constantly return-  
ing dishonored in some way or other;  
it was with the thunder crash of a col-  
lision brought on by split rails, which,  
in turn was brought on by the inevit-  
able economy of "Captainship of In-  
dustry," that this particular LIE was  
flung back with the endorsement writ  
in mammoth letters—"No Effects!"

That which the Nation needs to live;  
the production that is carried on by the  
Nation, that serves the Nation, and is  
served by the Nation—that is too  
huge a measure for any private con-  
cern to hold. The lying cheque drawn  
upon Nature's Bank by capitalist  
theory is returned every day dishon-  
ored. The only mission Samuel Spen-  
cer, the great "Captain of Industry,"  
has filled is to furnish by his crushed  
corpse the tablet upon which is once  
more writ—"No Effects!"

## INDUSTRIALISM IN FRANCE.

That the Labor or Socialist Move-  
ment of France—the country which  
may be expected to be the first to scale  
the ramparts of Capitalism in Europe  
—is successfully grappling with the  
vital question of industrialism, such is  
the salient point in an extensive ar-  
ticle from France, published elsewhere  
in this issue, and in which interesting  
data are furnished.

That French Unionism has worked  
itself out of the ruts of pure and sim-  
pledism is obvious—the General Con-  
federation of Labor recognises the po-  
litical mission of the Union, the mission  
to overthrow the capitalist system.

That French Unionism has evolved  
beyond even that point seems also  
clear—the General Confederation of  
Labor realises that an abstract prin-

ciple, however sound, needs the proper  
organic structure for its enforcement.  
It organizes on the industrial plan,  
and at its convention in Amiens, de-  
cided no longer to accept craft orga-  
nizations, these must merge in their re-  
spective industrial unions. The Union  
is the germ of future Government. In  
the Parliament of the Socialist Repub-  
lic, the unit of representation is the  
Industry, not the Craft.

That, however, the vision of French  
Unionism is still obscured by the mis-  
deeds of parliamentary Socialism  
appears from the stand taken by the  
General Confederation of Labor to-  
wards political action—it ignores, aye,  
it rejects the necessity of Working  
Class unity on the political as well as  
on the economic field.

This fact is nothing strange: it  
marks a stage of the Movement—a  
stage that the I. W. W. has behind it  
in America, nevertheless a stage to  
which full justice must be done. That  
stage is a protest against that ugly  
stumbling block to the triumph of the  
Working Class—pure and simple po-  
litical Socialism, with its long and in-  
evitable train of hollow oratorical dis-  
play, corruption, cowardice and trea-  
son, in short, of parliamentarism. It  
is a contrast that serves the purpose  
of holding the mirror up to the extreme  
of pure and simple political delusion,  
and showing to this the features of its  
counterpart, that other and equally  
untenable opposite extreme. It needs  
no strong effort for us in America to  
figure to ourselves the frame of mind  
that the Millerands and Vivianis are  
bound to throw the French Working  
Class into. We here also have had an  
ample experience, and fresh events are  
keeping the memory of the experience  
green.

With the turpitude of a Hill-  
quit Congressional campaign, seeking  
to wed Socialist ballots with Republi-  
can and with Democratic ballots this  
very year; with a "Socialist" Carey,  
a few years ago, sitting limp in the  
Legislature of Massachusetts, when the  
State House should have been made to  
rock with his demand for the impeach-  
ment of the perjured Judge who hurled  
his privately-made law upon the heads  
of the teamsters on strike; and, still  
more recently, with the Milwaukee  
saloon-keeping Socialist party Council-  
man Buech spending his time in such  
bourgeois measures as to make the  
passing of worthless cheques among  
the bourgeois a felony—with such and  
numerous other such evidences of what  
pure and simple political Socialism is,  
'tis not hard to understand how some-  
men's minds may fly to the opposite  
extreme.

Having so far picked their way safely,  
it is not to be expected that the  
French Working Class will fall to per-  
ceive the difference there is between  
"participation in political campaigns"  
and "parliamentarism," and, perceiving  
the difference, repudiate the latter,  
while utilizing to its fullest extent the  
former.

Indispensable to the organization of  
that army which will "take and hold"  
the plants of industry is the tactics  
that places and keeps the rising or-  
ganization in line with the methods of  
peace—so long as peaceful methods are  
available.

## "VOTES" AS ARGUMENT.

Another fact which the waves of the  
late elections have washed upon the  
shores of Time, and which is now suf-  
ficiently clear to warrant deductions  
is that the Socialist party vote has  
broken in two. In 1904 it was 400,000;  
this year it may not reach half the  
number. In New York and Massa-  
chusetts, in Ohio, Illinois and other  
states, the tumble was headlong; even  
in Wisconsin, the "advance" consisted  
in standing still with a perceptible  
lurch backward. What becomes of the  
one and only, the "crushing" argument  
of "Votes"?

Until now, it mattered not what  
argument was presented to the pure and  
simple Socialist party politician to  
prove to him the unsoundness of his  
position, the answer always was:  
"Look at our rising vote!" The answer  
was considered a settler; it was sup-  
posed to "cure all defects."

Was the S. P. pure and simple po-  
litical told: "Suppose you do poll the  
necessary vote to capture the political  
powers, how do you expect to have that  
vote counted, if you do not drill and  
organize the Might with which to safe-  
guard the counting?" The answer  
was: "Look at our rising vote!"

Was the S. P. man told: "A party of  
Revolution must be a party of men.  
Men cannot be reared in an organiza-  
tion that hides information from its  
membership; that builds upon whis-  
pered slander; whose press is retained  
by Civic Federation labor-leutenants,  
and can with impunity call dissenters  
"Gobio Jersiensens" and "Lobsters,"  
etc.—the answer was: "Look at our  
rising vote!"

Was the S. P. pure and simple po-  
litical told: "Neutrality is a folly,  
where it is not a fraud. The economic  
movement of Labor is part and parcel  
of the Socialist Movement. The po-

litical movement cannot ignore the eco-  
nomic, because the economic will not  
ignore it. The success of the political  
is inconceivable without the class-con-  
scious Union. You claim "Neutrality"  
yet you act obedient to the dictates  
of the A. F. of L. in the economic  
field."—the answer was: "Look at our  
rising vote!"

Was the S. P. man told: "A party of  
Revolution must sink if it tolerates  
reaction. Carylism and Chaselmism in  
Massachusetts, Morris Elchmanism in  
New Jersey, Hillquitism in New York,  
Berger-Buechism in Milwaukee, reac-  
tion, cowardice and corruption every-  
where are not compatible with Socialism,"  
—the answer was: "Look at our  
rising vote!"

Was the S. P. politician told: "Im-  
mediate demands only train recruits  
for Hearstic bourgeois radical parties,  
never for the Social Revolution,"—the  
answer was: "Look at our rising vote!"

The "rising vote" has become a  
"sinking vote." If a "rising vote" can  
cure defects, then the defects are ex-  
posed as incurable when the vote sinks.  
Stripped of its "rising vote" as the sole  
argument expected to cover its multi-  
tude of sins, the pure and simple po-  
litical Socialist party is stripped of its  
only apology for existing.

A party of Socialism has no reason  
of being unless it is uncompromisingly  
revolutionary—with all that that im-  
plies.

## SOUNDS FROM THE BONE-YARD.

The following missive reached this  
office from Mongaup Valley, N. Y.:

"A Socialist Labor man gave me  
several of your papers to look over.  
The first one I read is Nov. 26, 1904,  
and in the first article 'A Lively Corpse,'  
you tell us the wealth produced is  
\$140,000,000, or \$8,000 per family of five.  
Suppose this sum was equally distrib-  
uted, that we all had and earned this  
amount, how long would it help us?  
Nine-tenths of the working people  
would not do a tap of work till they  
had spent it. I see yourselves are as  
anxious to mislead the public if it will  
only make more money for yourselves.  
Mark Twain can tell us more about  
such agitation than I can tell you.  
Your very paper, etc., is not worth it  
compared to the great dailies, and I  
can only see you are no better than the  
other agitators. Self, self—Yours  
truly."

The letter is signed F. Brezer. One  
more fact in the matter—Mr. Brezer,  
as his letter-head announces, is the  
Manager of the Mongaup Valley Elgin  
Creamery Co. And still another fact,  
useful to the understanding of the  
issue,—the article from The People of  
November 26, 1904, is a reproduction of  
an article that appeared in the Holy-  
oke, Mass., "Transcript" and in which  
M. Rutherford—quoting the New York  
banker Frank A. Vanderlip's figures on  
production, and the Census figures on  
the average earnings of the wage-  
earner, and heaping up Census figures  
upon Census figures—proves that the  
total amount of production for that  
year, at wholesale prices was \$8,500,  
and at retail prices \$11,000 per family,  
while the average amount of earnings  
per family averaged only \$872 a year.  
Rutherford's article closes with the argu-  
ment that \$872 in wages can not buy  
back \$11,000 worth of goods at retail,  
or even \$8,500 worth at wholesale; and,  
leading with unerring precision from  
fact to fact, concludes that the cap-  
italist system, plus its Democratic and  
Republican parties, are headed towards  
a smash-up.

The first thing that sticks out in Mr.  
Brezer's letter is the gentleman's grand  
duck and dodge. He simply dodges  
and ducks the point. It is an unpalat-  
able point to the Manager of a cap-  
italist concern. In ducking and dodg-  
ing the point which proves, like the  
columns of a ledger, that capitalist so-  
ciety is bankrupt, and that 'tis but a  
question of time when it will be dis-  
posed of at auction by the Sheriff of the  
Social Revolution, the Manager of the  
Mongaup Valley Elgin Creamery  
presents no more intelligent an aspect  
than he would present if, with the fig-  
ures on the ledger of his own Elgin  
Creamery unable to balance receipts  
and expenditures, and revealing a huge  
and increasing deficit, he were to shut  
his eyes tight and refuse to see. Nor  
is there any difference between the  
angry Mr. Brezer, in search of solace  
to his uneasy mind, indulging in per-  
sonal vituperation of the Socialists  
who tell the truth concerning the busi-  
ness firm of Capitalism, and the same  
gentleman if he were to seek the  
solace of a big drunk, in order to es-  
cape the disagreeable revelation that  
the ledger of his private firm might  
make to him.

But Mr. Brezer is not satisfied with  
dodging and ducking, and "going on a  
drunk." He is mad clear down his  
corps—so mad that he becomes pot-  
valiant. Like an inebriate, the gentle-  
man imagines he sees a vulnerable  
point in the mail of his adversary, and

"goes for" it—only to fall flat upon his  
nose.

Against the mild equity of every  
family in the nation, even the families  
of the idle capitalists, having its \$8,500  
out of the \$140,000,000 produced by  
Labor—against that mild equity Mr.  
Brezer dares say nothing. But he  
thinks he discovers a principle superior  
to equity. Equity may be good enough  
as an ideal; it is not always "practical,"  
or conducive to "public policy." The  
"practical" business man steps for-  
ward. "How long," asks he, "would  
it help us" (who is "us"? the cap-  
italists?) if each family had that \$8,500?  
And he proceeds to clinch his point  
with the triumphant assertion: "Nine-  
tenths of the working people would not  
do a tap of work till they had spent it."  
The only thing "clinched" is the Man-  
ager of the Mongaup Valley Elgin  
Creamery Company himself. The  
"practical" idea here uncorked is that,  
in order to keep the idle capitalist fam-  
ilies in perpetual clover, even the equal  
share, that Labor would be entitled to,  
must be kept from it. The "practical"  
businessman's notion is that Labor  
must be kept hungry, else the capitalist  
will have no continuous swag to enjoy.  
The "practical" concept of the Man-  
ager of the Elgin Creamery Co. is that,  
seeing Labor would "not do a tap of  
work" if it got its \$8,500 share, the cap-  
italist class would, under such circum-  
stances, have to cease "not to do a tap  
of work," and itself begin shovelling  
snow. In other words, the "practical"  
notion, that is to overthrow the  
"equity" of the case, amounts to this—

ROB THE WORKERS OF THEIR  
PRODUCT AND THUS LASH THEM  
WITH THE LASH OF HUNGER TO  
KEEP THE IDLE CAPITALIST  
AFLOAT.

What the Manager of the Elgin  
Creamery Co. has done is very practi-  
cally to expose both the iniquity of his  
purpose, and the utter impracticability  
thereof. No sane man will believe that  
the Working Class, the overwhelming  
majority of the population, will ever-  
lastingly submit to be plundered in  
order that they may be saved from the  
"rascality" of "not doing a tap of  
work," and the sponging capitalist  
from the calamity of having to start  
doing some "taps of work" themselves,  
or die of hunger and cold. In other  
words, the slave driver of the Elgin  
Creamery Co. has but emitted sundry  
sounds and noises from the bone-yard  
of Social Science.

## "PUBLICITY" BLACK-EYED.

Under circumstances more than mys-  
terious, Linford L. Dilworth, described  
as "a member of one of the oldest,  
wealthiest and proudest families of  
Pittsburg," lies dead in his brother's  
house at Pittsburg with a shot in his  
head. Curiosity being on tip-toe to as-  
certain the facts in the case, all the  
more seeing that "a woman is said to  
be responsible for the tragedy," Direc-  
tor of Public Safety Frank Ridgeway  
has issued the order to suppress all  
news in the matter, on the ground that  
"the prominence and importance of the  
family of the dead man demands that  
no prominence be given to the sad case."

Already the instance is known of a  
leading Captain of Industry, who was  
shot by an irate husband, having been  
pronounced dead through "appendi-  
citis," and due to "the prominence and  
importance of the family of the dead  
man," the facts in the "sad case" were  
kept from the columns of our "guar-  
dians of information," the capitalist  
press.

Next we will be told, when some  
railroad president has been caught  
stealing stockholders' stocks, that "the  
prominence and importance" of the  
chief "demands that no prominence be  
given to the sad case."

Or, some bank director being dis-  
covered to do away with the funds  
of depositors, that "the prominence and  
importance" of the embezzler "de-  
mands that no prominence be given to  
the sad case."

Or, some manufacturer being dis-  
covered guilty of offering violence to a  
female mill-hand, that the "prominence  
and importance" of the dangerous  
brute "demands that no prominence be  
given to the sad case."

Or, some cabinet officer being  
found to have plotted with some insur-  
ance directors to rifle the widows and  
orphans funds for the benefit of the  
Republican or the Democratic party,  
that the "prominence and importance"  
of the foul conspirators "demands that  
no prominence be given to the sad case."

It is no accident that at this very  
season when the criminal class of cap-  
italism is pretending to hanker after  
"publicity" as a sure cure for the  
"abuses of the Trust," the identical  
gentry is seeking to stop the ears of  
that very "public" in order to prevent  
it from hearing what they are up to.

Whether in private or public, domes-  
tic or official business or sport-  
capacity—publicity is the last thing  
that the class which lives upon the

FLASHLIGHTS OF THE  
I. W. W. CONVENTION, 1906

[I shall adopt with regard to the re-  
cent convention of the I. W. W. the  
course I adopted with regard to the Am-  
sterdam Congress two years ago. Rather  
than write up a continuous report, which  
would necessarily have to be condensed,  
I shall publish a series of articles upon  
several men and things that figured and  
took place at the convention. These ar-  
ticles, together with the series on the  
leading amendments to the constitution  
adopted by the convention, will convey a  
clear idea of that memorable gathering.  
—Daniel De Leon.]

## IV.

## "AUTONOMY."

It is a significant fact that the slogan  
"Autonomy!" to the sound of which the  
A. F. of L. is drifting on the rocks,  
should be the identical slogan that went  
up in this year's convention of the I. W.  
W. from the camp of the reactionist  
minority. The fact is doubly significant.  
It is significant in that it indicates the  
mental affiliation between the reaction-  
ists in the I. W. W., on the one hand,  
and the A. F. of L., on the other; and  
it is significant in that it denotes the  
vitality that must be latent in the idea  
of "Autonomy." When a routed mi-  
nority of plotters set up a rallying cry,  
they ever instinctively seek to avoid any-  
thing that may betray their purposes;  
instinctively they seek a fair-looking  
mask behind which to conceal their face.  
It is doubly significant that, acting ob-  
edient to this instinct, the reactionist  
minority set up the slogan of "Auton-  
omy!"—a slogan that convicted them  
as much, as it was sought to speak in  
their favor. The fact is that "Auton-  
omy" is a word that needs definition;  
to-day it is bandied about with differ-  
ent meanings. Not the least of the  
merits of the recent I. W. W. convention  
is that, at this very formative period of  
the organization, the convention con-  
tributed towards the clarification of term.

Speaking at last year's convention—  
the initial gathering of the I. W. W.—  
Wm. D. Haywood made the following  
statements:

"I believe that every industry [as dis-  
tinguished from Departments, which he  
opposed] should have absolute control,  
jurisdiction, autonomy, administration,  
or whatever you please, to call it, over  
their entire membership."

Another passage proceeds to clarify  
the term "autonomy" above used:

"I take it that this organization is  
formed for the purpose of giving to those  
different international Unions absolute  
industrial autonomy, to those local  
Unions LOCAL AUTONOMY, and let  
every one of the local Unions be installed  
with the idea of giving to their members  
as near as they can INDIVIDUAL  
AUTONOMY."

Already this passage denotes that  
"autonomy" in the mouth of the Indus-  
trialist must be something somewhat  
different from the same word in the  
mouth of the craft Unionist. Subse-  
quent passages bring out the fact more  
clearly and furnish all the necessary ele-  
ments for the definition of the term.  
Haywood said:

"To give to the locals administration  
over their affairs AS LONG AS THEY  
DO NOT INTERFERE WITH THE IN-  
TERESTS OF THE INDUSTRIES; and  
to give to the industries absolute juris-  
diction and administrative autonomy  
over the interests of the industries, AS  
LONG AS THEY DO NOT INTERFERE  
WITH THE GENERAL WORKING  
CLASS MOVEMENT; that, to my mind,  
is a democratic method of administra-  
tion."

Finally, the following passage clarifies  
the situation luminously:

"Is it possible for the delegates here  
to consider those different states [the  
States of the Union] as international in-  
dustrial unions, to carry into effect the  
aims and purposes of the general labor  
movement which are represented by a  
central government? If there are forty-  
five different international unions they  
should have absolute autonomy just the  
same as the State has from the national  
government. Every county in the State  
—I mean every local in an international  
marrow of workmen, women and  
children can stand. To expect that  
class itself, or its politicians, to turn  
the light upon itself is to expect the  
marauding burglar to demand publicity  
for his prowesses."

PUBLICITY will come, but the sun  
of that day will see the WORKING  
CLASS at the electric button of illum-  
ination, and the CAPITALIST CLASS  
either in jail or at the chain-gang.

—should have the same relative position  
towards its international as the county  
does toward the State."

The necessary elements for the defini-  
tion, or understanding, of the term  
"autonomy" in industrialism are amply  
furnished by the above passages, which  
are but a few among many others that  
can be gleaned from the stenographic  
report of Haywood's contribution toward  
the organization of the I. W. W.

The term "autonomy" in industrialism  
means no less and no more than the term  
"home government." Historic develop-  
ment developed the name. "Home govern-  
ment" is the product of the conflict that  
ragged between two extreme principles of  
organization, or government. The one ex-  
treme is typified by the Roman Empire,  
from the center of which all rules eman-  
ated, with the result that all its com-  
ponent parts were absolutely subject to  
it; the other extreme was typified in this  
country by the Calhoun Nullifiers, who  
held that their rule was supreme in  
South Carolina, all Federal laws with-  
standing. Which of the two extremes  
was the worse, history has left undecided,  
pronouncing them equally bad. The for-  
mer crushed individuality, the latter  
bred the petty tyrant; while the former  
made great power possible, it did so at the  
sacrifice of local strength; while the for-  
mer would promote local strength, it  
does so at the sacrifice of the totality.

In two respects only the two extremes  
were identical. They both proceeded  
from the identical source—individual  
vanity; they both landed in the identical  
result—the sacrifice of one of the im-  
portant objects of organized society, to  
wit, organic unity. Out of the conflict  
of these two extremes sprang the prin-  
ciple of "home rule"—not as a com-  
promise, but as a recognition, first, of a  
general sphere to which the locality must  
be subordinate, and of a local sphere  
into which the central authority may  
not trespass. What "home government"  
is in the political structure of nations,  
"Autonomy" is in the economic structure  
of the I. W. W. Seeing, moreover, that  
the triumph of the I. W. W. implies the  
overthrow of the political and the sub-  
stitution of the same with the economic  
structure of society, "autonomy" will  
have to be interpreted by the light of the  
experience that gave birth to the term  
"home government." Autonomy, accord-  
ingly is a term to be rejected only when  
applied to industrialism in the old Cal-  
houn nullifiers' sense which, in the end,  
amounts to the same thing, seeing that  
both lead to the disruption of that which  
should be a unit; on the other hand,  
"autonomy" is a term that must be  
zealously safeguarded when applied in  
the sense of respect for internal con-  
cerns, without damage to external af-  
fairs, or be it the safety of the working  
class. It is in this latter sense that  
"autonomy" figures in the organic struc-  
ture of the I. W. W.

At Chicago the reactionary minority  
put on the mask of "autonomy" as un-  
derstood by the I. W. W., as well as de-  
manded by progress, in order to conceal  
the "autonomy" which they pursued and  
which the organic structure of the I. W.  
W. expressly rejects—the "autonomy" of  
Calhoun of old, or the A. F. of L. to-  
day, the "autonomy" which proceeds  
from self-seeking vanity and which lands  
in disintegration, in short, the autonomy  
that spells "corruption." Where false  
pretence must seek asylum in so contra-  
dictory a posture, ludicrous sights are  
inevitable. Nor were such wanting at  
the convention among the reactionary  
minority. Two such sights were the  
most obvious to the well informed gifted  
with a sense of humor.

One of these sights was presented by  
the Keoghs, of New York, who need Tam-  
many protection for their craft purposes,  
and who swear by St. Tammany, moving  
arrum-in-arrum with caricatures of  
Anarchists, such as the Dumases and  
Petriellias, whose craft aims cannot sur-  
vive in the industrial atmosphere.

The other sight was that presented by  
the Mahoney, McMullens and Macdon-  
alds masquerading in the feathers of I.  
W. W. autonomy while seeking to shield  
John M. O'Neill, the Editor of the Min-  
ers' Magazine, from the rebuke admin-  
istered to him by the convention, for  
having out-autonomied the A. F. of L.  
by not only endorsing a political party  
in distant Pennsylvania in violation of  
general I. W. W. principle, but also by  
doing so in violation of the express pro-  
visions of his own international Union,  
the Western Federation of Miners.

At the Chicago convention enlightened  
"Autonomy" was established both by  
sober reasoning and by the absurd light  
into which its opposite was thrown by  
the reactionary minority.

Watch the label on your paper. It  
will tell you when your subscription ex-  
pires. First number indicates the month,  
second, the day, third the year.

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONA-  
THAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Listen, you  
Socialists are wont to call all capitalists  
parasites upon labor?

UNCLE SAM—We are.  
B. J.—You are wrong, dead wrong.  
U. S.—Why so?

B. J.—Do not the capitalists take their  
risks? For instance, I know a capitalist,  
the larger part of whose workmen are  
not able to produce what is generally ex-  
pected of them. Moreover, his capital is  
not large enough to fight the union of his  
employees, whereas the other capitalists  
in his trade can fight it successfully, hav-  
ing more money at their disposal. His  
workmen will work shorter hours, and  
their average output is below that of the  
entire trade. Is not he in danger of los-  
ing his invested capital? How can you  
call him a parasite?

U. S.—Yes. In the first place, thieves  
and desperadoes also run "risks." Will  
you say that, therefore, they are not  
parasites?

B. J.—If you can knock me out in the  
"second place" as completely as you  
knocked me out with your "in the first  
place."

U. S.—There wouldn't be left a grass  
spot of your theory, eh?

B. J.—None.

U. S.—So here goes "in the second  
place." In the second place, thieves and  
desperadoes inflict less harm upon society  
than your capitalists, though the conse-  
quences of the manipulations of the lat-  
ter are by far the worst.

B. J.—There you are wrong.

U. S.—Let's see. His capital is small,  
and, therefore, let us suppose he saved it  
of his former earnings. He invested his  
capital with the intention of making a  
profit thereon, by employing men to do  
the work for him. He must in order to  
complete successfully, cut off from the  
products of their labor as much as he  
possibly can. He goes into the market  
for labor as he goes for machinery, which  
in turn, is nothing else but crystallized  
human labor power. The market price  
of both is determined by the law of sup-  
ply and demand. The workingman, un-  
like the capitalist, expects and gets pay  
only for what he produces; the capital-  
ist is constantly engaged in killing him,  
by paying starvation wages, cutting off  
as much of surplus value as circum-  
stances will permit. Do you believe that  
Shakespeare's Shylock was right when  
he said: "Nay, take my life and all;  
pardon not that: you take my house  
when you do take the prop that doth  
sustain my house; you take my life,  
when you do take the means whereby I  
live."

B. J.—He was right.

U. S.—And was Shylock the less a  
"Shylock" because he was right in these  
facts?

B. J. (Begins to look as if he was los-  
ing ground)—No, he was and remained  
a "Shylock."

U. S.—Now, then, to the extent that  
the capitalist cuts off the means wher-  
by his workmen live, he cuts off their  
lives. It is a thousand times more cruel  
to take a man's life gradually, by way  
of starvation, than it is to kill him out-  
right. A thief will rob you once or twice  
in your life; a murderer can take your  
life but once; the capitalist robs and  
starves his employees and their families  
as long as they remain wage slaves;  
death is the only salvation for the poor,  
miserable wretches.

B. J. looks meditative.

U. S.—Knocked out again or not?

B. J.—Yes, knocked out clean. Hence-  
forth



## CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, RESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

## SHALL OUR BROTHERS BE MURDERED?

To the Daily and Weekly People:—My blood boiled when I read "The Sun" of this morning. On the first page is a despatch from Boise, Idaho, headed "Fair Trial for Assassins. Steunenberg Murderers Have Only The Law To Fear. Governor of Idaho Declares That Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone Will Be Tried As Men and Not As Labor Leaders—Protests And Threats of Unions Vain."

What made my blood boil was this too evident determination to do murder under the pretext of rendering justice! The law contends that accused men are to be regarded as innocent until proven guilty. Yet "The Sun" reflecting accurately the words of Gov. Gooding in the despatch from Boise, condemns the victimized men in advance, calling them "assassins" and "Steunenberg murderers." Under the circumstances what impudence it is to assert that these men "have only the law to fear." The truth of the matter is that they have to fear a conscienceless conspiracy to murder them—a conspiracy in which the law, already outraged by the Goodings and their mouthpieces, will be interpreted in accordance with their despicable purposes.

In view of these new facts, it again becomes imperative to working class safety to raise the alarm. Show the Goodings, et al., that the working class indignation attending their first endeavors has not vanished into thin air. Assert once more that our brothers shall not be murdered. Repeat with renewed determination that this is not 1896. Get ready to prevent a miscarriage of justice. Murder in the guise of the law shall not be done.

James Donnelly.

New York, December 4.

## "REBELLIOUS SOCIALISM" THAT DISCREDITS BOTH REBELLION AND SOCIALISM.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I have a number of questions as well as suggestions.

If Mrs. Parson wrote the book "The Family," then what is the relation to it of the banker's daughter who was mentioned in People a few times?

John Sandgren wrote his article on "As to Politics" as every Westerner would, and it is the Westerner who knows "Socialism reduced to practice," comrades from Bavaria, Mass., or Dan De Leon or any other Leon to the contrary. I as an ex-Westerner wanted to write a similar article, but Sandgren got ahead of me. It is sheer folly to expect the rebellious or revolutionary Socialist to comply with capitalist franchise requirements, be it in Dixie land or outside of it; and therefore it is to be expected that their strength, politically speaking, will be a pinch of snuff, and consequently a hopeless minority for the time being. The ballot to the revolutionist is a thing of luxury, to a chocolate-bacone proletariat a thing of merchandise, while to the capitalist class it is a thing of necessity to hold themselves in supremacy.

For these reasons it amounts to treason to the revolutionary cause to mispend the coin of the proletariat to comply with capitalist requirements for a place on the ballot, for it uselessly fattens the drones of Albany and perhaps the drones of New York.

Well, how is the revolutionist to emancipate himself? Is he to give up the ballot? No, is my answer. On the contrary, he is shorn of the ballot already, and it is for him through the I. W. W. and the S. L. P. to regain the ballot by force of American-made arms, if necessary, and by the general strike, and finally by the general lockout of the capitalist class. That is the duty of the S. L. P. to teach and to preach, and to raise money for this purpose only and none other.

Now as to the intelligence of the rank and file of the S. L. P. There is a good deal to teach them in self-reliance and perception of right and wrong. When in Dixie land, nearly eight months before the I. W. W. convention, I smelled the crooked work of Sherman and Co. I was too slow to denounce him then and there. (Incidentally, I did not spare Trautmann—I know he will not ask for an apology.) The S. L. P. members, with one exception, were not slow in condemning him for my so-called uncalled-for and unwarranted assertions in attacking Sherman and Co. But when Dan De Leon, six months later, gave the signal for a general attack on Sherman, these same members, with myself in the Keystone State, assembled and denounced Sherman.

Now the question arises, was Sherman crooked in September only, or for months before it too? The S. L. P. members have

not learned to think for themselves, but to follow the leader. The same I noticed with the backward S. L. P. in Philadelphia, and all the S. P. in Philadelphia, Camden and Trenton—with isolated exceptions here and there. Who are these exceptions? Ex-Westerners, who have traversed the proletarian America, and not the de-Americanized East, where self-sacrifice, self-thinking and self-reliance, and the courage to assert it, is yet to be cultivated.

I wonder if this letter will be printed in the Party Press.

Yours,  
Rebellious Socialist,  
M. Rosenberg  
564 N. Clinton Street, Trenton, N. J.

[We know not whether the "Rebellious Socialist" M. Rosenberg is a member in good standing in the Socialist Labor Party or not. That does not matter. Indeed his letter will be printed. There it is. It gives material aid in refuting the false methods and principles which it advances.

As to the matter of the ballot, our correspondent merely indulges in phrases. These have been uttered before. They do not improve by repetition. They leave unanswered the question, How is a movement, that advocates physical force as its only method, going to recruit in our generation the forces requisite to its mission?

As to the Sherman matter, our correspondent mistakes the facts. It was not "Dan De Leon who gave the signal for the attack on Sherman." The signal was given by the facts demonstrated, or ascertained, at the Convention. These facts may have been surmised before; they were not known. Folks who "smell" a thing and proceed upon the mere "smell" as all sufficient, are oftener wrong than right. They usually fly off the handle. The Shermans would to-day be singing Hosannas for joy at their escape, had the "Rebellious Socialists" of the M. Rosenberg stamp had their way. The facts would have remained unascertained and unproven, and "Revolution" would stand as something to laugh at, instead of the dreaded and respected POWER that it emerged from the Convention.

Finally, the introductory lines of our correspondent serve as a hoop to bind the false staves of his barrel, and more completely expose them. Our correspondent starts with asking: "If Mrs. Parson wrote the book 'The Family,' then what is the relation with the banker's daughter who was mentioned in People a few times?" Our "Rebellious Socialist" has somewhere in his mind Mrs. Lucy Parsons, the Anarchist; he confuses her with Mrs. Herbert Parsons, an entirely different woman, who wrote the book "The Family" and is the banker Clews's daughter; he must have read The People's articles on the subject between yawns; "smelled" something and flies off the handle with an indigested question.

The Social Revolution will be carried out only by men of steady police; men, who are careful of their facts and careful of their conclusions; men who can keep their temper under control so that the heat of indignation, needed for action, will be ruled by the coolness of thought, needed for direction.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

## PHENOMENAL CONSOLATION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Editor of the "Union Sentinel," in an editorial in the issue of November 2nd, claimed that the Socialist party was entitled to all revolutionary votes.

Now comes local Philadelphia Socialist party with a "Bulletin" of November 19, in which it says, "Our vote is four times that of the Prohibition party and nearly nine times that of the Socialist Labor party, who got 299. Most of this was intended for us, as the De Leonites did not even have one meeting during the campaign, in fact have no section here, nor have had for practically two years."

This is not the only local in the State that consoled itself with the claim that "most of this was intended for us." From other parts of the State we have observed in the "Union Sentinel" similar claims.

Although the Socialist party vote was nearly nine times our vote, it was 700 less than 1904—in Philadelphia.

In the "Union Sentinel" of September 26, Ed. Moore, candidate for Auditor-General on Socialist party ticket says: "Phenomenal is the only word that will convey any idea of the growth of the Socialist movement in Pennsylvania." Of course, he means the Socialist party.

In drawing attention to the letter from which the above quoted paragraph is taken, the Editor says: "Comrade Moore, as everybody knows, is not a

man to 'see things' not the one to 'fly off the handle,' and when he says the movement is making a 'phenomenal' growth there's something in it."

The Socialist party of Pennsylvania I dare say put up a better campaign this year than it ever did. It had Ed. Moore and Jas. Maurer continually on the road for over two months. Sol. Fieldman, J. M. Caldwell and Prof. Geo. R. Kirkpatrick made tours over the state, with O'Brien and E. J. Lewis in the hard coal regions. Philip East also made a tour of the eastern end of the State in quest of votes. All with the result that the Socialist party sustained a loss of 6,694 votes.

Compare the activity of the Socialist party with the lethargy of the Socialist Labor party, and then ask yourselves—comrades of Pennsylvania—what are the prospects for us? To me they look bright, as we lost only 102 votes, and these we deserved to lose.

Silas Hinkel.  
Reading, Pa., November 29.

## "UNDER THE WHITE TERROR" UNCOVERS FRESH ULCERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I have not done anything for a long time. The fact is I became demoralized on account of the way our party, the S. P., was being run by the Volkszeitung clique in the interest of themselves, including the low office of our dear comrade Morris Hilquit. I have not attended the General Committee until Saturday November 24th inst. for a long time, and went on that night because I could not learn the truth about the Hilquit campaign in the ninth Congressional District. Imagine my joy when I saw that he was there and that the chief subject was Mr. Hilquit and his campaign in the ninth Congressional District. The subject was thoroughly thrashed out, some of the comrades called our "Boss" a "traitor," he was accused of voting at the last election for Mr. Goff and other Hearst judges, and he did not deny it to the astonishment of many of us who remember what a howl the Volkszeitung and the Worker made during the campaign when it was published in the Evening Journal that our late comrade Mayes was supporting Mr. Hearst, openly. And by the way, I have not seen a word in the Volkszeitung as yet about the "Boss" Hilquit and the General Committee last Saturday night. Can it be possible that the Volkszeitung and Worker will not tell the comrades that the General Committee condemned Hilquit and his campaign committee for the circular that the Daily People, only the Daily People (thanks to the Daily People) exposed to the world recently?

I cannot believe even after nearly a week has passed, that the Volkszeitung is so foolish as to think that they can cover up the Hilquit matter and the actions of the General Committee on last Saturday night, but, lest that is their policy, I will expose them now. Our dear comrade Hilquit was wild with rage at the comrades who called him a "traitor" to the Socialist movement. But now comrades, can we blame Hilquit when he has been allowed by the party in general to run things as he pleased, including the voting of non-members led by friends of his, and no one dared question his authority in the party or to differ with his views? That was the trouble with comrade Mayes, he had the hardihood to dispute that clique's authority, etc., and it was the thing that made the party expell James N. Wood several years ago. Wood had committed the unpardonable sin of running a little paper and fighting Hilquit and defending some of our New Jersey comrades, especially the National Lecturer Geo. H. Goebel. The truth is, he got most of all the money to run his paper from those Jersey comrades that have been fighting the "Unity Conference" so savagely.

The General Committee did not finish the Hilquit matter on the 24th, inst., it was adjourned until Saturday night December 1st; and if possible I will be on hand and write up the finish of the traitorous conduct of the Volkszeitung crowd and their candidate Morris Hilquit; alias the Ninth Congressional District of New York City. Oh by the way, do you remember how the Volkszeitung came out right after the election and said that Hilquit had received over four thousand votes, and the Social Democratic Herald of Milwaukee copied it; when the fact is that he fell away behind the vote that De Leon got ten years ago! Ye gods, how they blow before the truth is known! Shame! shame!

Covington Hall's (New Orleans) letter is being quickly circulated. Many are afraid to be seen to read it. The Volkszeitung purchased a fresh spy with a job of "reporter." His name is Lore. He and the two Jabs and others go sniffing around. Many a member is in the same box with me. The Civic Federation labor skates in our Unions can knock the bread out of our mouths at a moment's notice. Therefore the organization is gradually sinking into a "Whispering Club." No one trusts his neighbor under the Volkszeitung Terror.

## UNDER THE WHITE TERROR.

November 30, 1906.

## THE AUDITING COMMITTEE AND KIRKPATRICK.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Auditing Committee of the second I. W. W. Convention accused Chas. G. Kirkpatrick of annexing two salaries—one as President of a department and one as member of the general executive board.

The proof of the auditing committee's statement is apparent to any one who investigates the records and is capable of a verdict when facts and figures are plainly placed before him.

But Mr. Cannady, Kirkpatrick's man Friday, springs to the rescue of his chief with an affidavit. He swears that the records show that Kirkpatrick did not draw two salaries.

Let us see.

Kirkpatrick held an office in the I. W. W. for which he was to receive pay at the rate of One hundred dollars per month. He agreed to serve for that sum. That office made him member of the general executive board. Executive board business was a part of the service he was obligated to give in fulfilling the duties of the office for which he was to receive One hundred dollars per month. He had no right to take, or vote to himself, or accept any further pay. Nor did any one else similarly situated as Kirkpatrick have the right to assess the general organization for services for the performance of which that person was already under salary. This applies to Mahoney. Look at the picture. Presidents of departments abdicate as salary drawers, or allege they do so, and theoretically from the service of their departments for one or two weeks at a time in order to pull an extra per diem out of the general organization. The proper way for them to do would be to content themselves with their salaries, and then if their departments had a bill against the general organization for services rendered by them, let the departments present the bill.

The fact is: The auditing committee is correct. Kirkpatrick drew very much in excess of one hundred dollars per month. He drew two salaries. Moreover, part of the \$252 he drew for executive board services was NOT a trip to New York or for other organizing work. He drew money in addition to above sum for organizing. He drew certain other sums from the general organization for organization work and for the same alleged purpose he drew from the M. and M. department the sum of \$381.19 in nine months or more than \$42 per month.

Now let us look closer into his record as a salary drawer.

The quarterly reports of the M. and M. department (now no more) show that from January to the end of September, 1906, Kirkpatrick drew as salary from him then existing department the sum of \$794.85. Add to this the amount he drew from G. E. B. services, to wit, \$252 and you have a total of \$1046.85 which he annexed for nine months service. His legal salary would have been \$900. Consequently he has drawn according to these figures which are on record, an excess of \$146.85.

There is evidence going to show that he would have pocketed sixty dollars more if the auditing committee had not reported as it did in his case. The Auditing Committee reported October 3, 1906. On that day, there is documentary proof of the fact that the quarterly report of the abolished M. and M. department for the months of July, August and September, 1906, was already made out and put in typewritten form and the necessary number of copies made. This report so made and so copied shows in plain figures this entry:

Chas. G. Kirkpatrick, Sept. Salary, \$100. But now comes the report of the convention auditing committee. It accuses Kirkpatrick of taking two salaries. Instantly \$80 is cut from the hundred and the report of the late M. and M. department goes forth amended as far as that entry is concerned, thus:

Chas. G. Kirkpatrick, Sept. Salary, \$40. Two pen strokes are drawn through the typewritten \$100 and \$40 is substituted in writing.

Query: Did Mahoney make some such arrangement with Kirwan when the auditing committee impeached him with his admission on the convention floor? At any rate, in spite of the dropping of the sixty dollars from Kirkpatrick's September salary the facts are proven against Kirkpatrick. Giving him due credit for these \$80, he is still \$146.85 ahead of what equity must declare his legal pay. He accepted an office at a salary of \$100 per month. A portion of the duty of that office was to serve on the G. E. B. He was entitled to no extra money for performing that service. Yet we see that he drew extra money to the amount of \$146.85.

As far as his alleged organization work is concerned, he drew for that alleged service during nine months the sum of \$381.19 from his department's funds and certain other sums from the treasury of the general organization.

What are the affidavits of Sherman's henchmen worth? The convention was legal. He who says it was not legal, lies.

He who swears it was not legal, is a perjurer. The contention of these men before the court and under oath is that the convention was not legal. Wm. R. Fox. Cincinnati, O., December 4.

JUDGE LEWIS AND THE MOYER CASE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—While the matter of the throwing out of court of Moyer's case against Peabody is fresh in the minds of the readers of our press, it would be well, I think, to state a few facts which have not, as yet, been touched upon.

A year or two ago, Judge Hallett, for many years judge of the United States District court in Colorado, found the weight of years too much for him and determined to resign. Among the candidates for the position to be vacated the most prominent men were District Judge R. S. Lewis of Colorado Springs, and Associate Justice John Campbell, of the Supreme Court of Colorado. Campbell had the backing of the Republican machine in the state, and, originally, would have landed the position with very little trouble.

It happened, however, that he had incurred the enmity of Judge Hallett, and when the old man found that Campbell was likely to be his successor, he reconsidered his intention to resign. He did not want Campbell and went to Washington and lobbied against him.

Another stumbling block in Campbell's way was his well-known hatred of those of our class who chafe under the dominion of capitalism. He is credited with having made a speech in Colo. Springs in which the right to have its case considered is denied the working class. Be that as it may, the fact is established that John Campbell sees nothing better than or beyond the dominion of capitalism.

The fight against him was successful much to his chagrin. The place to be vacated was pledged to Judge Lewis, whose conduct of the train-wrecking case had given him a reputation for fairness. Great was the joy in certain quarters over the defeat of Campbell and now the sequel is at hand. In what way could John Campbell do worse by the working class than R. S. Lewis, the good judge has done in the Moyer case? The point is clear: The working class has as little to expect of the "good" exponents and upholders of capitalism as it has of the "bad." So far as we as we are concerned, Judge Campbell is no worse than Judge Lewis. A consideration of this is respectfully suggested to those who insist that we should not tie ourselves to party, but vote for "good men." Judge Lewis is a "good man" with the possible exception of Judge Bailey, no judge of the district courts of Colorado was more popular; and yet—the facts are as they are! The "good man and not the party" theory has received another blow.

The decision of Judge Lewis: that the actions of the governor of Colorado were not to be reviewed by the courts! contrasts glaringly with the position taken by the Supreme Court in 1904-05 and yet there is no conflict between the assumption of supreme power by the governor in the Moyer case and the assertion of a "kingly prerogative" by the Supreme Court in the contest between Adams and Peabody. A study of decisions mentioned brings out in clear relief the contempt entertained by the representatives of capitalism for the law and order of which they talk about so much.

As we have seen, the Supreme Court of Colorado and the Dist. Court of the United States, Judge Lewis presiding, decided in the case of Chas. H. Moyer vs. James H. Peabody, Bulkeley Wells, Sherman Bell et al. that the courts had not power to review the acts of the governor; that he was, to all intents and purposes, the state and could do as he pleased.

In 1904 came on what was unquestionably the most fiercely contested election Colorado ever saw and will see for years to come. Just how keen was the conflict may be imagined from the fact that, in the three precincts into which Florence is divided, the vote polled came within five or six of the total registration, and of these not voting some had left the city.

In Denver the public utility corporations controlled both the Democratic and Republican machines. In the Spring election, W. G. Evans, a Republican, who in the Fall was to lead the fight for Peabody, had secured the election of R. W. Speer, a Democrat. Evans expected, I presume, that Speer would be able, when given the signal, to deliver the vote ordinarily controlled by the city machine to the Republican party. Speer made an effort, it is true, but as at that time, he aspired to control the state organization of his party, and the feeling against Peabody ran so high even in the lower wards of the city of Denver, he concealed his treachery, knifing the man whom he had helped to nominate, very severely.

Enters now the august body of the Supreme Court of Colorado. It had been made acquainted with the prospective

(Continued on page six.)

## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

## "INQUIRER," CINCINNATI, O.—

All producers are consumers. Hence consumption appears as a vital question to the working class. But—all consumers are not producers. Hence the question of consumption is the only question that concerns the idle capitalist. There is a third principle to be kept in mind. If the workingman receives all that he produces, he would himself take care of the question of consumption. Finally, there is a fourth principle that must be considered. Production must precede consumption: no production, nothing to consume. Now, then, the synthesis of these four facts establishes the following practical conclusions:

First—Exploitation takes place, at least it starts, in the shop;

Second—To concern itself with the issue of consumption is for the Labor Movement to place itself upon the plane of interests that are the sole interests of the capitalist class, and by so much to abandon the plane of interests that are the interests of the working class only, to wit, wages.

J. C. HAMILTON, CANADA—The I. W. W. has not yet gathered the growth and strength necessary to reflect its own political party. That the vote of its membership should in the meantime scatter, and be partly even cast for capitalist parties, is an evidence, not that the I. W. W. is not revolutionary, but that it has not yet attained its growth.

Next question next week.

F. S. CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—Now to your last question—

Females are in excess of males in the Atlantic States with the exception of Delaware. For the rest of the country, males are in excess, strongest on the Pacific slope.

J. O'F. PORTLAND, ORE.—A man may be so constituted as to have reverence for constitutional provisions to the point of substitution. Like all superstitions, this one would naturally cause a man to strain any number of points, to the point of becoming actually unconstitutional, and yet the man may be honest. No honesty has, however, room in the rantings and billingsgate of an O'Neill. Such rantings and billingsgate prove the man is but raising dust to conceal his real purpose, and that he knows his purpose is impure. No need of bothering with such folks.

A. R. YONKERS, N. Y.—If "people will be afraid to join the I. W. W. lest they lose their jobs," what hope is there of their standing their ground when their ballots are counted out?

J. A. NEW YORK—What on earth is there to answer? For one thing, the mere fact that the "Volkszeitung" publishes the name of Berger over a set of statements is no guarantee that Berger made the statements. The Volkszeitung Corporation is in the habit of forging signatures to letters and reports that it publishes. It did so quite recently with the despatch that the I. W. W. convention appointed St. John, De Leon and Trautmann to forward to Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in jail. For another thing, what is there to answer to a statement by Berger that Mrs. Forberg committed perjury in an affidavit in which she states statements made to her by Sherman? The only man, who has a prima facie right to make such a denial, is Sherman, not Berger. Let Sherman come out. We'd like to see the Sherman, the fellow who swore he never called the I. W. W. convention, charge truthful people with perjury.

B. S. F. CINCINNATI, O.—Marx never overthrew his own theory. No book, or article, or pamphlet written by Marx gives himself the lie.

A. J. F. NEW YORK—The author of the article "Blackguard Pulpitizing" was M. D. Fitzgerald. The omission of his name in the Daily was an oversight in the composing room. Defect will be corrected in Weekly.

S. B. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The Italian paper "Ragione Nuova" is S. L. P. property, the National Secretary informs us.

B. S. CINCINNATI, O.—Use pen and ink when writing. Manuscript in pencil makes difficult reading for comps. All others take notice.

W. D. F. LONDON, CANADA—Minutes intended for publication should not be allowed to accumulate.

R. C. INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—Your questions on the Republican and Democratic party's vote will have to lie over until the official figures are announced.

T. P. NEW YORK—The Constitution of the Labor Secretariat must be construed sanely. The interpretation to the effect that it entitles all members of the affiliated Unions to all legal advice they may want is insanely broad; and insanely narrow is the interpretation that it entitles the members only to legal advice in matters concerning them and their employers directly. A workingman may own a house, and need legal advice on the abstract of title—that is no "workingman's interests"; he should pay extra for that; on the other hand, a workingman with a little savings' banks deposit which he pinched himself of, and now needs, is entitled to free service; the getting of that money falls under the head of "workingman's interests."

T. W. D. BUFFALO, N. Y.—Common sense must prevail. All you say against craft Unionism is true. Hence the resolution of the convention directing the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. to organize "Industrially." At the same time, the I. W. W. is in a period of formation. It is not always feasible to organize "Industrially." A body of men may have to be admitted who are organized by their craft only. Such an organization would be only temporary. Hence the said resolution allows the admission of craft Unions. We must walk before we run, provided we do not keep on walking after we are able to run.

B. S. VANCOUVER, B. C.—B. H. Williams' address is care of A. M. McLain Co., Eureka, Cal.

D. E. H. PITTSBURG, PA.—The qualifications for voting in each State of the Union are given in the World's Almanac, pp. 98-99.

E. P. NEW YORK—The "Sherman push," better known as the "Sherman-Hannemann Detective Agency" is waiting for "something to turn up" Micawber-like.

W. J. G. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Never lose sight of the fact that an increased supply implies, with all commodities except labor-power, a decreased exchange value. With labor-power the increasing supply is not brought on by a "decline of the labor crystallized in it and socially necessary for its reproduction." With labor-power the increasing supply is brought on by other causes—concentration of production, improved machinery and methods, expropriation of the middle class, etc. Hence the exchange value, or "natural price," of labor-power is a permanently declining one, and that means a permanent decline of the worker's standard of living.

J. P. HAMMOND, IND.—A pure and simple Union is one that limits its efforts purely and simply to dickering and dealing with the employer. It follows that the pure and simple Union ignores the ultimate mission of Unionism, to wit, the overthrow of capitalist society. In other words, a pure and simple Union ignores, or even denies, the political aspect of Unionism, to wit, the revolutionizing of the social system.

"WATCHER," LONDON, ENG.—The O'Neills can not make us angry. They are mere blatherers. The S. L. P. has a great Cause to serve, hence it never attacks men except as upholders of wrong, and hence never is vituperative. The O'Neills, on the contrary, have no Cause to serve, hence can afford to indulge in personal epithets. Their blatherings, like the barking of dogs, deserve no notice, unless they draw too close and then get a kick.

J. K. LAWRENCE, MASS.; C. M. S., ONEONTA, N. Y.; J. M. R. TORONTO, CANADA; T. A. DENVER, COLO.; C. C. C. PLEASANTVILLE, N. J.; L. A. S. BUTTE, MONT.; L. E. C. MILFORD, N. H.; D. I. SCRANTON, PA.; J. B. CHICAGO, ILL.; I. O. J. TERRE HAUTE, IND.; M. H. S. CHAMPAIGN, ILL.; G. G. R. CLEVELAND, O.; C. H. GUTHRIE, OKLA.; H. L. N. CLEVELAND, O.; G. H. SAN ANTONIO, TEX.; V. M. DENVER, COLO.; A. B. SALT LAKE, UTAH; "QUARTER," PHILADELPHIA, PA.; L. D. M. NEW YORK; C. H. D. CHICAGO, ILL.; M. S. NEW YORK; E. J. M. DULUTH, MINN.—Matter received.



## OFFICIAL

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Frank Bohn, National Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.  
S. L. P. OF CANADA.  
National Secretary, Thos. Maxwell, 758 Dundas street, London Ont.  
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.  
2-6 New Reade street, New York City  
(The Party's literary agency.)  
Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

## N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

A regular meeting of the sub-committee was held Friday, December 8, 8 p. m., at 2-6 New Reade street. Present: Schwenk, Olpp, Jacobson, Teichlauf, Crawford, Moren, Heyman, Olson, Vaughan and Walsh. Teichlauf was elected chairman.

The National Auditing Committee was admitted and its report received. It was decided to send copies of the summarized report to the Party membership.

The financial statement of the National Secretary for the three weeks since the last regular meeting showed receipts—\$65.95, expenditures—\$146.58.

Communications: From German Branch of Section Milwaukee, suggesting methods whereby the German party organ could be improved and requesting the cooperation of the N. E. C. sub-committee. It was decided to ask the German comrades of Milwaukee to contribute matter to the German organ. From Chas. J. Davidson, of St. Paul, Minn., charges against the Minn. S. E. C. because of alleged neglect in placing the S. L. P. state ticket on the ballot. Referred to the N. E. C. From the Washington S. E. C., similar charges against a committee appointed by the convention.

Also referred to the N. E. C. From the manager of the Daily People asking for instructions regarding certain matters pertaining to the mechanical department. Laid on the table until financial report be received. Manager to be requested to prepare such a report for the next meeting of the N. E. C. sub-committee.

From G. Mazzarella, S. L. P. delegate to the Convention of the Italian Socialist Federation at Boston, report. From the Missouri S. E. C. requesting an organizer as their state is ripe for S. L. P. propaganda. Referred to the N. E. C. From Kendall, State Secretary of Texas, making same request. The National Secretary was instructed to advise the Texas S. E. C. that organizer Gillhaus would return East via Texas. Secretary Kendall also reported on the outcome of the last election. Because of the high poll tax, the working class of Texas was almost disfranchised. Texas S. E. C. wished advice regarding the holding of special working class elections. The National Secretary was instructed to advise the Texas S. E. C. to investigate, and, if possible, to arrange for a poll of S. L. P. votes on election day, regardless of capitalist disfranchisement of the workers.

From the Hungarian Socialist Federation requesting information regarding the resolution lately introduced by Section Schenectady to amend the S. L. P. constitution as to permit the race federations to become an integral part of the S. L. P. A committee (Olson, Vaughan and Bohn) was elected to confer with the Hungarian Federation regarding this matter. From State Secretary Muller of Va. making recommendations. Secretary to answer same suggesting why recommendations cannot be complied with at present. From Zimmerman, Vaughan and Francis, resigning from the National Auditing Committee. Resignations accepted. From the Scandinavian Socialist Federation, a request that the N. E. C. sub-committee promise not to mortgage the property of "Arbetsaren." National Secretary instructed to write the N. E. C. of the Federation to that effect.

It was decided to instruct the National Secretary to have certain communications pertaining to the Independent Labour Party of the Transvaal, published in The People. Adjourned.

Timothy Walsh, Secretary.

## GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the four weeks ending December 8, the following contributions have been made to this fund.

Frank Delmastro, New Haven, Conn., ..... \$ .50  
Julius Zimny, Oshkosh, N. Y., ..... .50  
"Tomarsack," Seattle, Wash., ..... .50  
F. Maasdon, New York City, ..... 1.00  
Chas. L. Ross, San Diego, Calif., ..... .75  
Stephen Bailey, Delta, Colo., ..... 1.00  
K. Georgewich, Schenectady, N. Y., ..... .75  
W. Elzaki, Vallejo, Calif., ..... .25  
Collection by August Gillhaus, ..... 5.50  
J. L. Brooks, Elber, Ariz., ..... 1.00  
M. A. Aaron, Bisbee, Ariz., ..... 1.00  
M. C. Clark, Bisbee, Ariz., ..... 1.00  
J. Ney, Bisbee, Ariz., ..... 3.00  
M. L. Borini, Globe, Ariz., ..... 1.00  
J. Haynes, Globe, Ariz., ..... 1.00  
Collection by August Gillhaus, Globe, Ariz., ..... .50  
Total ..... \$22.75  
Frank Bohn, National Secretary.

## SECOND ACT

## IN HAMILTON'S "RIOTS"—MILITARY SUPPRESSION.

## Law-Defying and Crooked Company

Protected by Regulars After Police Had Found Indignant Populace Unconquerable—Incidents Attending Affray Recall Russian Brutality.

Hamilton, Canada, December 1.—On Sunday, November 5th, the people of Hamilton, for the first time in many years, found the street railway system completely tied up by a strike. The inevitable had arrived at last. The wage slaves of the two lines affected had for two months been allowing the Company to play fast and loose with mock conferences and arbitration schemes. The Company meanwhile obtaining ample time to prepare the men's defeat. Patience had at last ceased to be a virtue, however, and the men asserted their manhood, by deciding to strike. Two lines and about 165 men were affected.

Sunday passed quietly, as did also the next seven days, the Company making no effort to operate its service. On Monday, November 12, however, the long-expected transpired, and the strike breakers, which the Company had previously secured for this expected contingency, began to operate a few cars during the afternoon. "Was not long before public hostility commenced to assert itself. The first car with its load of strike-breakers, Pinkertons and local police, appeared at the City Hall about 2 p. m. By 3 o'clock a crowd of some thousands had gathered and greeted each new arrival with hoots and jeers, also an occasional rotten egg. Up to this time the police had been able to keep the crowd moving, but by 4:30 p. m. the streets and squares within the neighborhood were congested by a surging, yelling mass of people. The police now were unable to disperse them owing to their ranks being somewhat decimated by the number required to man the Company's cars.

From this time on matters became more serious, the appearance of every car now was the signal for a shower of small stones, rotten eggs, decayed vegetables, interspersed with an occasional half brick! Several attempts at arrests were made on the part of the police, but the crowd which was now becoming excited, proved equal to the occasion by piling on the bluecoats and taking the prisoners away. One of these worthies had the job performed in his behalf by such a simple thing as a superannuated egg, which struck him full in the face.

Things continued at this tension until about four o'clock when, the cars being withdrawn, the crowds quietly dispersed. After the incident of Monday afternoon the Company made application to the Mayor for military protection, but this request was not granted by the City's Chief Magistrate, he being caught up in the cleft stick of Capitalist interests. If he was to please the C. P. Co. he must displease the City's "Business Interests." On Tuesday the local papers all came out deploring the "disgraceful scenes" of the previous afternoon. "They hoped they would not occur again, the police force should be augmented and if these things continued the military would certainly have to be called. The city had no right to put police on the cars to protect the Company's property. They were required for other duty and should be immediately withdrawn," thus said the local press.

For ten days the Company continued to operate a few of its cars, with strike-breakers within limited districts for short periods during the afternoons and evenings. It also made threats on one or two occasions to attempt night service. This policy—the city officials strongly advised against as popular indignation was running high at the time, and requested the Company to continue its day cars only until public hostility had somewhat abated. The C. P. Co. submitted to this proposition with very bad grace, claiming it had a right to run its cars in the evening as well as during the day and also declaring that it was entitled to military protection if the city authorities could not provide any other. During the day the strike-breakers had experienced very little trouble from the strike-sympathizers, beyond an occasional stone thrown by some enthusiast, one or two attempts to derail cars and a similar attempt to dynamite the East End barns. During the melee that followed this incident, a man named Fitzgerald received a fatal injury from one of the scabs, who was armed with a pickaxe handle, with which he struck Fitzgerald on the head. Barring these few incidents comparative peace and quietness prevailed until Friday, November 22nd. On that date the Company announced its intention of run-

ning cars in the evening and trouble began to brew immediately. By 7:30 p. m. the intersection of the two main streets of the city, which nearly always prove the storm center of hostilities, were filled by some 4,000 people and a general fusillade of bricks and stones greeted every car as it passed these points.

After 8:15 your correspondent ceased to be an eye-witness of the proceedings of this memorable night owing to being in attendance at a local meeting of his Parliamentary friends (the S. P.-ites). When returned from the meeting hostilities had ceased and the battlefield was deserted, but neighboring buildings bore mute testimony as to how fiercely had the battle waged. Instead of corpses, broken plate glass windows strewn the streets. The immense plates of Stanley Mills & Co.'s large department store were a total wreck. One of the plate windows in their King street store (the largest window in the city) was knocked entirely out, not so much as a piece the size of a dinner plate remained in the frame. There were many other windows also wrecked by stray missiles intended for strike-breakers. This venting of the crowd's fury on the Stanley Mills store was due chiefly to a current rumor that this Company was furnishing food to the Car Company's scabs and had also discharged some of its employees for wearing "We Walk" tickets which at the commencement of the strike had been much in evidence. These rumors your correspondent has as yet been unable to verify. Passing further down James street we arrived at the "Radial" railway station. Here likewise a fierce battle appeared to have raged. A comrade who was with me at the time remarked the two large plate windows in the front of the building "appeared like face curtains!" Thus resulted the first attempt at scab car service in the evening.

The Company had as yet played but a few of its cards and still had a handful of trumps. When the crowd got beyond control of the police order was immediately made for the military—not militia but regular troops. The order for these uniformed strike-breakers was made about 10 p. m. and shortly after midnight the first detachment arrived from Toronto. Others were soon on the way from London. Special trains had been in readiness for several days for this very job. Said trains being manned, of course, by good union men with cards in their pockets. Early in the day more "soldiers of the King" arrived and were at once quartered and made comfortable at the city armories. During the day the cavalry could be observed exercising on the streets, while little bunches of foot soldiers were stationed at different points throughout the city. Towards evening things commenced to look threatening and the 200 soldiers and police began to get their war paint on. About 7:30 hostilities commenced when some boys threw a few small stones. This heinous "crime" caused the sheriff to read the "Riot Act" and the police immediately commenced to smash heads right and left. No discrimination whatever was used, men, women, and children went down before this terrific onslaught of police batons. The soldiers (both infantry and cavalry) kept up their reputation of gougers for the Capitalist Class by prodding and slashing with swords and fixed bayonets. It must be said in justice, however, that compared with the brutality of the police, the actions of the soldiers were as lambs and kittens. The police, in some instances, became so barbarous and blood-thirsty that they would rush up into private stairways, and club whomever was within reach. They also threw citizens out of their private places and, in one instance, rushed into a haberdasher's store and clubbed a clerk who was waiting on a customer! Pages could be filled with instances of similar outrages and brutality charged to the police and soldiers. Space however forbids, yet one incident must be related in order to show that we do not have to go to Russia to study Russian methods nor the spirit which animates the Cossack's blood-thirsty work.

After scores of innocent people had been clubbed down by the police (many women and feeble old men among them) Lieut.-Col. Dennison, Commander of these Canadian Cossacks, upon being interviewed, is reported as having said, "There are many broken heads in Hamilton to-night, I am only sorry there is not more of them!" This, I think, compares favorably with any of the reports we usually get from Russia. Animated by such a Christian (?) spirit is it any wonder the police and soldiers were the recipients of hisses, rotten eggs and more solid articles? The streets of the city were patrolled until nearly midnight by the police, infantry and mounted cavalry; who pranced their horses upon the sidewalks and into private and shop doorways in their efforts to dislodge all who sought temporary shelter from the

## fierce onslaught of the "invisible blue."

The main attraction of the whole strike was pulled off between nine and ten o'clock on this memorable evening. The following account is from a local paper:—

## "A TERRIBLE RIOT."

"The worst incident of the night took place at the corner of King and Walnut streets about 9:30. A gang collected there and placed planks, barrels filled with stones and other obstructions on the tracks. When a car arrived there it had to stop. Some of the strike-breakers got out to remove the obstructions and as soon as they did so they were set upon by the mob which had drawn up on both sides of King street. A perfect hail of stones and bricks followed. The men hurriedly took refuge on the car and threw themselves on their faces. The rocks and bricks continued to shower on the car until the soldiers and policemen dashed down on the mob, dispersing it. When things settled down it was discovered that there was not much left of the car which will be of no use again except the trucks. The men had been protected all evening by wire screens, which had been put over the windows, but when the car was stopped the crowd tore the screen off in an instant, and those who were inside were entirely unprotected from the violent attack on them. The result was that one man, Arthur Bertrand, was injured in the spine and was taken to the city hospital. He left there Sunday. It was reported that another man was struck in the eye with a stone and had his eye knocked out. That has not been confirmed. All of the eight or ten men who were in the car were more or less injured with stones or rough handling.

Some of the strike-breakers after the first onslaught rose to their feet and pelted stones back at the crowd, and some who were on the street were injured."

The day following being Sunday the Company ran practically no cars at all. Monday, however, they were in operation again as usual during the day. As dusk approached, however, the Company decided to stop its cars for the night. This may be said to be its one sensible act during the strike. Had cars been operated during the evening there would undoubtedly have been bloodshed. Many of the non-combatants, who had been clubbed without provocation, had a spirit of revenge uppermost in their minds. The crowd upon the streets Monday evening might truthfully be referred to as "seeing red." Many of the second-hand stores were reported sold out of fire arms and women were this evening conspicuous by their absence.

However, it's said that "alls well that ends well" and so it proved in this case. It has become an axiom during strikes of this kind that if there are no cars there are no "riots." How well the capitalists know this!

For the past week "peace" negotiations have again been in progress. The Grand Mogul of the Street Railway Union, Mr. Mahon, has again blown into town and yesterday, November 30th, Brother Capital and Brother Labor under Mr. Mahon's benedictions decided to once more smoke the pipe of peace. Brother Labor is again to be arbitrated, this time "unconditionally" by the Ontario Municipal and Railway Board. Pending the outcome Brother Labor (the Union) has assumed work for Brother Capital and the system is again in operation to-day. More "revelations" will now be in order.

In my next, I will offer the promised comments and lessons.

Lockhart M. Gordon.

## HOW TO JOIN THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

All persons desiring to attach themselves to the Socialist Labor Party, either by the formation of a local organization known as a "Section," or by joining as members at large, may proceed as follows:

1. Seven or more persons may form a "Section," provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., belong to no other political party and are not officers of a pure and simple trade or labor organization.

2. Isolated persons, unable to find six others to join with them in organizing a "Section," but desiring to become members, may do so by becoming members at large upon signing an application card, subscribing thereon to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P. and answering other questions on said application card.

For application blanks to be used in the formation of "Sections" and for application cards for the use of individual members as well as all other information apply to the undersigned. Frank Bohn, National Secretary, 2-6 New Reade Street, New York (P. O. Box 1576).

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## AS TO POLITICS

I dissent from the views held by John Sandgren who maintains that because the revolutionary vote is counted out, therefore the vote is useless, which is tantamount to saying that because laws are not enforced then to make laws is useless; because we do not get the full product of our labor, then to labor is useless; or because the lather of an army permits the enemy to spike its guns, therefore guns are useless as a method of warfare.

I hold that the question is not as to the numerical voting strength of the working class, but as to the effectiveness of that voting strength. The fact that the capitalist class is bending every endeavor to nullify the effect of the ballot in the hands of the working class, proves that it is a weapon to be feared by them, and therefore it should be to our interests to retain as much of a hold on that weapon as is possible.

The very fact that the capitalist class is trying to offset the potent power of the ballot in the hands of the working class by disfranchising, counting out and padding voting lists, is evidence that they are not numerically in the majority, but are striving towards that end, and if the end for which the capitalist class is seeking redound to their advantage why should we, as members of the working class, be asked to assist towards that end? As a revolutionist I propose to fight the capitalist class with every weapon at my disposal, believing that the end fully justifies the means.

In Philadelphia a recent election investigation disclosed over 80,000 names illegally placed on the voting list, upon which names gangs of repeaters continually voted, with the cognizance of the police. If the capitalist class were numerically in the majority, why are they obliged to resort to such tactics? As to the repeaters who cast that lot of bogus votes, surely if as members of

the working class they could serve such dastardly purposes of the capitalist class, what might we expect from them when capitalists have pitched them against our proposed lone weapon of defence, the I. W. W.? If such men are not available as honest voters, how are they available as members of the I. W. W.? Does John Sandgren believe that such voting as related of Philadelphia could be possible in the face of a united Socialist front, backed by I. W. W. rifles of necessarily marshalled? Shot and shell is the only proper method of disciplining such base traitors to their class. Moral suasion is wasted on such moral pervers.

I speak thus from the view point of a display of a powerful strength of the I. W. W. is all that is necessary to insure the counting of the revolutionary vote. Such action on the part of the I. W. W., however, involves the necessity of there being a political organization of the working class, acting as a reflex of the I. W. W., and I hold that until there is, the I. W. W. as an organization remains impotent.

It costs us nothing to retain the privilege of the ballot, but it may cost an immeasurable sacrifice if in the event of surrendering our suffrage we should find it necessary to regain it. I believe in the ballot, and that the working class have an overwhelming power with that ballot; but to enforce our dictum militant action is necessary on the part of the working class. I believe that election day should be also a Labor Day involving a general cessation of labor, thus permitting the organized working class to mass at the ballot box with two weapons—the ballot for voting, and the bullet for insuring the counting of that ballot, with ample provision for disposing of repeaters and convincing officials.

Yours for militant action,  
Frederick Boyle.

Revere, Mass., November 24.

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